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SIR JOSEPH BANKS AND THE PLANT  
COLLECTION FROM KEW SENT TO  
THE EMPRESS CATHERINE II  
OF RUSSIA 1795

BY  
HAROLD B. CARTER

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## INTRODUCTION

IT HAS long been the author's belief, in spite of the growing list of scholarly studies, that nothing less than a complete gathering and collation of his surviving widely scattered papers will place Sir Joseph Banks in his right place among the hierarchy of great Englishmen. Even a short acquaintance with accessible samples of his correspondence is enough to emphasise the formidable nature of such a task. This has effectively discouraged any practical attempt ever since the range and size of the originally well-organised mass of manuscripts was for the first time realised after his death in 1820.

The vicissitudes of these papers and their final dispersal after 1886 have been reported in sufficient detail elsewhere within recent years<sup>1</sup>. There is no need for repetition here. It is enough to note that the episode recorded in the present sequence of documents is a small example of what can be restored on a much greater scale if a systematic attack is made on the problem. There is in fact no good reason why the surviving Banksian papers, despite their world-wide scatter, should not now be brought together in a grouping and continuity somewhat similar to their original good order. The disrupting hand of the dealer in manuscripts and the capricious taste and attitudes of the market itself within the past century have created some gaps that probably cannot now be filled. Enough remains, however, to ensure that at last something like justice can be done to a man whose life was an extraordinary example of public service in its best form and broadest sense.

Traces of the present episode were first seen by the author in September 1964 at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, in the isolated item

<sup>1</sup> The most informative account is that by Miss Phyllis Mander-Jones, 'A History of the Papers of Sir Joseph Banks' (1949, rev. 1951 and 1953), Mitchell Library, Ab 67-9/7, in typescript.

ATL No. 112 [Banks to Burges, 6 May 1795]. Soon after in the same month the draft paper B.21 was read in the Auckland Institute and Museum [Banks to Burges, 15 June 1795]. Together these more than hinted at the circumstances of an important incident in the history of plant migrations. The framework of the story was, however, not defined until several weeks later in October 1964 during a systematic study of the Banks manuscripts in the Sutro Library at the University of San Francisco. Here, sufficiently complete, was the main body of records from Banks's own files and in a state from which the circumstances of the plant gift from George III to Catherine II of Russia could be deduced. It was not until several years later, however, that this forgotten and unpublicised diplomatic incident could be fitted into its proper historic niche.

This was made possible by the aid of two generous grants from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund No. 3776 and Johnson Fund No. 634) toward the full collation of the Banks papers. In the interim much time was spent in gathering on microfilm and otherwise copies of all the known major collections of the Banks manuscripts and in preparing the foundations of a complete chronological index of the scattered documents. Out of this work the present series emerges as a succinct example of many other operations more extended and significant in which Banks was concerned as a central and indispensable figure during his long presidency of the Royal Society of London.

In 1795 Banks was in his fifty-third year and had been P.R.S. for sixteen years. The 'dissensions' of 1783-4 were long past and there was no immediate threat to what had become for him almost an established position in the public service. In the previous eight years gout had laid an increasingly heavy hand upon him. His fifty-second birthday was passed during one such severe episode, probably in bed, at 32 Soho Square. Another burden had recently been added to his life by the death of his uncle and former guardian, Robert Banks Hodgkinson, F.R.S. (1722-1792) in November 1792. The Overton estate thus reverted to his control with the residual duties as executor of his uncle's will jointly with Sir Henry Hawley, 1st bart. (1745-1826). He was now the only surviving Banks in the direct male line as heir to the entailed estates of his grandfather, Joseph Banks, F.R.S. (1695-1741).

The year 1795 into which by historical chance this episode in botanical diplomacy comes is therefore a suitable period in Banks's life on which to focus a little more closely. By this we can reveal something of that detail of his life and mode of working which is so conspicuously absent from the brief memoirs and short biographies so far to hand. Nor would the episode itself be clear without some background of how it was done by Banks and of the roots of the organisation he was able to command in order to fulfil the bare command received, possibly, direct from the King himself in one of their frequent meetings in the Gardens at Kew.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the eighteenth century British relations with Russia centred round the maintenance of trade, especially in strategic materials - timber, pitch, tar, hemp,

sailcloth, iron and steel – essential to the growth and upkeep of her naval and mercantile shipping. This relationship had been formulated in a series of commercial treaties after the death of Peter the Great who had already decisively influenced its pattern when he made St. Petersburg the political capital. The commercial treaty of 1734 under the Tsarina Anna ended the period of Anglo-Russian enmity which followed the strong rule of Peter and established the eastern Baltic trade as the axis of their political relations for the rest of the century. Politically Britain needed Russian support against the counterweight of France with her Baltic satellites, Denmark and Sweden. Strategically Britain needed access to Russian sources of naval stores. Commercially she needed the Russian markets for British woollens as a defence against the competing industry of Silesia at a time when woollen exports formed about one-third of the total British export trade.

Although in modern terms the Russians were in the position of the most-favoured nation they made little use of this privilege in the trade with Britain, with whom the mercantile initiative lay almost entirely. In this trade the Russia Company was the effective instrument throughout the eighteenth century even though it was then in the last phase of its own long life as a trading corporation.

The trade was almost entirely conducted in fleets of British merchant vessels in a restricted seasonal movement from England in the spring returning in the autumn. It was a very stable trade and a steady peacetime training of merchant seamen, though providing a rich source for the press-gangs of the Royal Navy in time of war. However, to preserve this system Britain was very dependent on a neutral Russia (at best) and an open Baltic Sea for the maintenance of her merchant and naval marine. It was a precarious life-line always menaced by the vagaries of the climate both of Nature and of international politics.

It is easy to understand therefore why Britain was prepared to sustain a negative trade balance for so long which was in general one-third against her. On the other hand, Russia was almost entirely dependent on British merchants and British shipping for the greater part of her export income, although she gained thereby a steady flow of ready finance. On the whole these circumstances kept the political balance fairly even. However, there is more than a little substance to the view of some recent Soviet historians that without the Baltic trade with Russia in the eighteenth century the first British empire could never have been formed nor Britain ever have become a great power.

With the accession of Catherine II in 1762 and the relaxation of tension between Britain and Russia at the end of the Seven Years' War, the commercial treaty of 1734 which had expired in 1757 was at length renewed in that of 1766 by Sir George (later Lord) Macartney after many attempts by previous envoys since 1755.

The volume of the trade in the half-century since 1700 had increased more than tenfold but the value of British exports had no more than doubled. Thus the imbalance of trade against Britain was stronger than ever. However, the advantages of its maintenance were no less favourable to both sides in spite of shifting political alignments in which alternately Russo-Turkish or Russo-Polish affairs were the central themes. Britain on the whole was insensitive to Polish affairs and aloof to Catherine's successive interventions in that luckless country. On the other

hand, Russia's relations with Turkey elicited more active British responses to the extent that these were due to Catherine's maritime adventures, mercantile or naval. To these Britain certainly could not remain indifferent.

The protracted diplomatic manœuvres of the 1760's and 1770's were sharpened into more precise form by the War of American Independence. Britain's hopes for Russian aid in this war were rebuffed. Worse than this Catherine organised the Armed Neutrality of 1780 in her bid for the role of peacemaker in Europe and as an expression of growing Russian resentment of Britain's stranglehold on her foreign trade.

The twelve years from 1775 to 1787 under the impact of this policy saw the number of British ships in the Russian trade trebled, certainly, but those of other nations including Russia increased sevenfold. Catherine's persistent efforts towards economic freedom from British trading pressures culminated in the events of the Ochakov crisis of 1791.

In this affair relations with Poland and Turkey became entangled with the spectre of Russian expansionism. Russian control of Polish trade through the Black Sea, which the capture of Ochakov from the Turks implied, conveyed a double threat to British trade in that area. As William Pitt and his advisers saw it, this was not only a disruption of the Baltic trade pattern but also the admittance of the French to the naval stores from Poland and the Ukraine. For a time war threatened between Britain and Russia as Pitt vacillated and until Catherine made peace with the Turks, concluded at the Treaty of Jassy in January 1792. In the flurry of diplomatic activity that preceded this pause in the decline of Anglo-Russian relations Sir Charles Whitworth was at the centre as British envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at Warsaw<sup>1</sup>, a post he had held since 1785. Well-received as he had been at first in this capacity by Catherine his relations at her Court were severely strained for a brief period during March and April 1791 when his orders to deliver an ultimatum to the Empress were hastily and only at the last moment countermanded. Britain's influence on the Russo-Turkish peace concluded at Jassy was only marginal. Of this little, however, much was due to Whitworth and he obtained some credit at home for his skilful recovery of diplomatic favour with Catherine. No less important perhaps was the restraint exercised from London by Charles James Fox and His Majesty's Opposition skilfully handled by Count Simon Vorontsov, the Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's<sup>2</sup>.

The short-lived but dramatic Ochakov crisis with Britain was quickly submerged in Catherine's mind, however, by her rising fears at the course of the French Revolution, the plight of the French monarchy, and the growing excesses of the National Convention with all the threats implied by these events to monarchies everywhere. She renounced the commercial treaty with France made in 1790. Then in 1793 she renewed the old Anglo-Russian agreement of 1766 (lapsed in 1787) with little substantial change in its terms.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Whitworth, 1st Earl Whitworth (1752-1825). Envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at Warsaw, 1785-1793; at St. Petersburg, 1793-1800; ambassador at Paris, 1802-1803. He was the grandson of another Charles Whitworth, Baron Whitworth (1675-1725), also envoy-extraordinary to Russia, 1704-1710, and author of *Account of Russia as it was in the Year 1710*, published by Horace Walpole (Strawberry Hill, 1758).

<sup>2</sup> Count Simon Vorontsev (1744-1833), Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, 1785-1806.

Through all the events of this *rapprochement* between Britain and Russia Sir Charles Whitworth, fully restored to Catherine's favour, proved himself an able diplomat. Early in 1793 he was recalled to London at a time when Britain's pre-occupation with the recent outbreak of war with revolutionary France obscured the part played by Catherine in the second partition of Poland. Later that year on 17 November 1793, at the Court of St. James's, Whitworth was created a Knight of the Order of the Bath as his just reward. The euphoria of his success, however, did not in any way dull his sensitivity to the minutiae of diplomacy. It was almost certainly at his inspiration that Catherine came to express her wishes for a plant collection from the Royal Gardens at Kew. He would have known well her long-standing admiration of the English garden expressed so fervently to Voltaire in 1772: 'I love to distraction these gardens in the English style - their curving lines, the gentle slopes the ponds like lakes. My Anglomania predominates over my plutomania...'<sup>1</sup> He would have been aware also of the fine landscape about the new Palace of Pavlovsk which had been under construction since 1781 for the Grand Duke Paul, Catherine's son and heir, to the plan and under the supervision of Charles Cameron of whom Catherine had said: 'A présent je me suis emparée de Mister Cameron, écossais de nation, Jacobite de profession, grand dessinateur nourri d'antiquités, connu par un livre sur les bains romains'<sup>2</sup>. Pavlovsk was Cameron's classic success after his earlier work on Catherine's great Palace of Tsarskoe Selo and one of the finest pieces of Neo-Classicism in Russia<sup>3</sup>. Whitworth could have had no difficulty in developing the notion with the old Empress that plants from the Royal Gardens at Kew would be the final adornment. It was a shrewd point in diplomatic finesse that he conveyed the Imperial wishes to Lord Grenville at the Foreign Office in a letter not long before his investiture with the cross of the K.B.<sup>4</sup> Through the same channel he received soon after His Majesty's formal assent.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Catherine II to Voltaire, 25 June 1772.

<sup>2</sup> Catherine to Baron Grimm, 23 August 1779, *Records*, Imperial Historical Society, XXIII, p. 248, and also in *Correspondence artistique de Grimm avec Catherine II. Archives de l'Art français*, Reau, L. (1932). Charles Cameron (1740-1812), certainly a Scot but probably not a Jacobite, was a distinguished contemporary of Robert Adam but has been little studied or known outside Russia. For what we know see the monograph *Charles Cameron*, Loukomski, G. (1943), London, The Commodore Press.

<sup>3</sup> These two great palaces were developed under Charles Cameron with lavish finance from Catherine II during the last seventeen years of her reign, 1779-1796. Tsarskoe Selo is about 15-16 miles [c. 25 km] south of Leningrad [St. Petersburg] and Pavlovsk nearby about one or two miles further south. That at Tsarskoe Selo [Tsar's Village] was the usual Imperial residence, a Russian Windsor Castle of the eighteenth century. After the Revolution in 1917 it was re-named Detskoe Selo [Children's Village] and more recently changed to its present name Pushkino after the poet Pushkin. Pavlovsk was designed and decorated primarily by Charles Cameron from 1781-1796 and under his supervision until Paul I replaced him by his assistant Brenna after Catherine's death. It was later the centre of a charming garden city and was regarded as one of the finest examples of park landscaping in the world. The 'Private Garden' was developed from 1784 onwards.

During the siege of Leningrad 1941-1944 in World War II both Palaces were in the front line of the besieging German army and, with their surrounding grounds, almost destroyed. They have since been magnificently restored by the Russians. No traces, however, remain of the original Private Garden or the greenhouses to which the plant collection from Kew was brought in 1795. [Cf. letter dated 19 December 1967 from M. S. Filippov, Director of the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, to M. J. Rowlands, Chief Librarian, British Museum (Natural History), London.] Nor does there seem to be any surviving evidence in USSR of the transaction described in this bulletin.

<sup>4</sup> Grenville to George III, 15 November 1793, *Fortescue* MS.

<sup>5</sup> George III to Grenville, 16 November 1793, *Fortescue* MS.



However, the fulfilment of such diplomatic gambits, important as they are in the fine structure of international relations, is not always easy. As with so many other things during those fateful years of 1793-4 other preoccupations and dangers intervened to prevent or delay effective action. The emotional shock of the Terror in France on the fabric of European governments and the sequence of military disasters in 1794 obscured for His Majesty's Government the relevance of botanical *douceurs* to ageing Empresses. In February 1795 the initialling of a preliminary defensive treaty between Catherine and the Coalition Powers clearly revived the gesture as a fitting embellishment of Whitworth's success in achieving the new Russian commitment against France<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF 1795

The interest of the Tsarina Catherine II sustained over two years of war had slowly infiltrated the maze of political events and diplomatic protocol to become a matter of practical urgency for the President of the Royal Society of London. The onset of spring after the deep and severe winter of 1794-5 brought the King and Sir Joseph Banks together on their common meeting ground at Kew as soon as the weather would allow on 4 April 1795. It is very probable that on this particular day Sir Joseph received in person from the King himself the definitive orders to gather and arrange the despatch of the plant collection for the Tsarina. Somehow this task had to find its place suddenly in the intricate and unending activities of a man whose public service never ceased, the full range of his work being known to few, probably to none. This particular Royal command was laid on an ever-willing work-horse in one of the most critical and disturbed years in the long and by no means tranquil reign of George III.

For the nation the year 1795 was to be one of widespread civic unrest and violence. This was compounded of the pressures arising from the extending mobilisation for war and the starvation and want due to the state of the seasons. All this was brought to a frothy ferment by the inoculation of revolutionary thoughts from France. These elements are present as factors influencing the day-to-day activities and correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, limiting or guiding his operations, occasionally breaking through in a revealing sentence, but never deflecting him from his purposes.

The winter of 1794-5 was one of the most severe ever experienced in Britain since records of any kind have been kept or weather conditions in any way noted systematically. From the beginning of the New Year the evidence of this is to be found in almost every letter to Soho Square, especially in the estate correspondence from Revesby Abbey and Mareham-le-Fen as James Roberts and Benjamin Stephenson reported the depth of the snow and its duration, the hardness of the frost, the force of the wind, or the progress of the thaw and the extent of the floods that followed across the acres of the Revesby estate. This was the year in which Benjamin Stephenson (c. 1720-1795), the old and faithful steward of the Banks family,

<sup>1</sup> For authoritative recent studies of the background to this brief account cf. *Great Britain and Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, Horn, D. B. (1967), pp. 201-235, and *The Younger Pitt*, Ehrmann, J. (1969), pp. 467-515.

wrote his last letter to the master in Soho Square. Fifty-one years of service lay behind – twenty-one years under William Banks (1719–1761) the father and thirty under Joseph Banks the son. Before the summer was over old Benjamin was dead. His place as agent at Revesby was for a time filled by another as steadfast and faithful in James Roberts (1752–1826) who at sixteen in 1768 had become the servant of the young master on the *Endeavour* and so continued until Banks's death in 1820. This was a relationship of fifty-two years' standing rather as trusted friends than as master and man.

There were other echoes of that adventurous past during the bitter January of 1795. Henry Dundas, as President of the Board of Control, and until recently the Home Secretary who had drafted the 'Instructions' to the Macartney Embassy to China, was now anxious for Banks's views on the publication of its results. The Embassy had returned on H.M.S. *Lion* the previous September and already Banks had spent some time on the plant collections brought home by Sir George Leonard Staunton and the botanists and gardeners. In his answer to Dundas, Banks gave a long and detailed account of how, twelve years before, the publication of Cook's third voyage was managed as a guide to the present. He declined the task of formal supervision of the Embassy publication and recommended that all should be left to George Nicols the King's publisher. He would, however, act as an adviser if he should be needed<sup>1</sup>. [16 Jan.]

Almost at the same time began that long and, in more senses than one, fruitful correspondence with Thomas Andrew Knight at his Herefordshire retreat near Ludlow<sup>2</sup>. [11 Jan.] There was also the beginning of the applications for the post of Assistant Librarian at the British Museum, following the death of the Reverend Richard Southgate, all demanding some reply or advice from the man who was something more than an *ex-officio* Trustee.

This was the month also of the final stages in the preparations for the departure of Governor John Hunter to the colony at Port Jackson. For Banks, in these preparations, there had been the problem of the plant cabin on the quarter deck of H.M.S. *Reliance*, Captain Henry Waterhouse, suitably modified from that on the ill-fated *Guardian*, Captain Edward Riou, to meet the exigencies of the state of war now prevailing. On board with the plants for New South Wales was the young master's mate, Matthew Flinders. Eighteen months earlier he had returned from a voyage of two years as midshipman under Captain William Bligh on H.M.S. *Providence* in the second and successful bread-fruit expedition. In the interim, not much more than six months previously, he had served as midshipman in his only naval action in H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, Captain Thomas Pasley, off Ushant on 'the Glorious First of June' 1794. In the same battle his former Captain, William Bligh, had commanded H.M.S. *Warrior* and was now on active service again in the North Sea in command of H.M.S. *Calcutta*. Another shipmate from H.M.S.

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Dundas, 16 January 1795, ML Banks MS. in 182. To this was appended a separate statement on the publication of Captain Cook's third voyage and a final draft of this appears to be the manuscript in SL Banks MS., undated, but considered by the present editor to be the one in question. Cf. J. C. Beaglehole, *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776–1780*, Hakluyt Society, London 1967, vol. I, cciv n.

<sup>2</sup> Knight to Banks, 11 January 1795, DTC 9. 182–187.

*Providence*, Christopher Smith the botanist, was now far away in Calcutta itself just beginning his Indian work under Dr. William Roxburgh. With Smith was Peter Good the gardener from Kew who would five years hence join Flinders in the *Investigator*. Smith and Good had sailed the previous August in 1794 in the *Royal Admiral* Indiaman, Captain Edward Bond, with an outward bound collection of plants from Kew. Whether at sea or ashore on naval or botanical occasions in their endless journeys all these men – so many young men – never ceased to be the care or the correspondents of the man at 32 Soho Square.

At home this month, however, James Roberts and Banks were in jubilant correspondence about the excellent wood sales from Tumbly that year, modified only by the buyers' dissatisfaction with the auctioneer, and the current bids for the oak bark<sup>1</sup>. [7 Jan.] Old Benjamin Stephenson, in spite of the viciously cold weather, was honoured still to be Banks's almoner once more distributing money and other aid to the poor of the Revesby and Mareham villages<sup>2</sup>. [20 Jan.] Thomas Coltman, magistrate, of Hagnaby was concerned about the enfeeblement of Benjamin Stephenson but glad to receive from Banks the Reports of the Committee of Waste Lands and to discuss the technique of sowing turnips by drill<sup>3</sup>. [18 Jan.] John Burcham wished to exchange ten shares in the new Horncastle Canal for some land at Toft Hill held by a Mr. Dyson from Banks as a site for brick kilns<sup>4</sup>. [27 Jan.]

Winter was still fastened hard upon the country as February opened, slightly warmer, but with more snow. On the first of February Banks wrote to Pierre Broussonet exiled in Lisbon, a refugee from the Terror since the previous summer<sup>5</sup>. Separated from his baggage and the gift of forty tortoises for Banks which accompanied it he had missed a passage on one British frigate for London. He now faced a long wait of two months for another ship and Banks's help with money for his immediate needs was extended to Gibraltar on his behalf through General Charles Rainsford, F.R.S., second-in-command of the garrison. All this was reported by Banks to Dr. James Edward Smith<sup>6</sup> [15 Feb.] who was also in touch with the fugitive and also concerned with the welfare of Adam Afzelius in distant Sierra Leone. Banks had consulted Dryander about Afzelius as a possible candidate for the Library vacancy at the British Museum but both thought him unsuitable as the post was antiquarian not botanical.

African affairs at this period were never far from Banks's thoughts. The news of the French attack on Freetown outraged him and he hastened to assure Afzelius that he would replace his lost equipment and continue to honour all his bills. Nonetheless he thought the danger of fresh attacks was high and he advised him to return to England<sup>7</sup>. [17 Feb.] These fears for Afzelius, however, did not prevent him from writing with warm encouragement to John Gray, accountant in the Sierra Leone Company at Freetown, who proposed a journey from thence across Africa

<sup>1</sup> Roberts to Banks, 7 January 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>2</sup> Stephenson to Banks, 20 January 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>3</sup> Coltman to Banks, 18 January 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>4</sup> Burcham to Banks, 27 January 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>5</sup> Banks to Broussonet, 1 February 1795, cf. Broussonet to Banks, 23 March 1795, BM.Add.MS. 8498.

<sup>6</sup> 251–252.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Smith, 15 February 1795, *Smith MS.* 1. 89–90.

<sup>8</sup> Banks to Afzelius, 17 February 1795, *ML Banks MS.* in 182 (orig.); DTC. 9. 197–198 (copy).

with James Wall, surveyor<sup>1</sup>. [16 Feb.] Still, he counselled severe limits to their ambitions by suggesting Timbuctu as a first goal. There was to be a consul to Bambouk or, more vaguely, 'Senegambia' with a small armed force. More significant was the news that soon a young man of 23, Mungo Park, surgeon of Peebles, was to set out for the Gambia to explore the interior. With this went all the available publications of the African Association as the strong meat of literary encouragement for ambitious young men. He could not, however, report any news of the unfortunate Major Daniel Houghton who had set out so long ago with the same remit that Mungo Park was so soon to carry. Houghton's widow and young children still remained as a heavy charge on the conscience and the charity of the Association and with Henry Beaufoy's death on 17 May Banks was left with the task of resolving the debt.

It is some measure of a returning balance in the affairs of the nation, after the shocks and depression of the past two years, that Banks could turn again to the experimental wool manufacture of the Royal clip which for good economic reasons he had delayed until now. George Hawker of Lightpill in Gloucestershire was ready and honoured to execute Banks's orders of 14 February<sup>2</sup> and repeat the excellent work he had done so much to the King's satisfaction two years before<sup>3</sup>. [22 Feb.] Benjamin Stephenson, however, from Mareham-le-Fen in Lincolnshire wrote<sup>4</sup> [22 Feb.] with news of the widespread effects of the recent thaw and the floods arising from the blockage of the drains and sewers with the thick ice and hard-packed snow spread out over the low ground of the Lordships of Revesby and Mareham, with water running more than two feet deep through Horncastle. All this fell hard on the labouring poor of the parish prevented from working in the woods of Revesby and Tumbly so that they were flung back again on Banks's charity which Stephenson reported '... I give your money away freely, as I know you wish it sh<sup>d</sup> be'. Ahead there seemed to be no relief as Stephenson foresaw '... I think there never was a time in my Memory, that there was so bad a prospect of scarcity as the present'.

Again the war intruded as John Parkinson from Asgarby raised the murmurings from the parishes on the raising of men for the Militia under the proposed Bill and the matter of fees to be paid on the volunteers<sup>5</sup> [17 Feb.] for the commissions of the officers. All this discontent flowed naturally to Banks's door for he had spent so much time during his term as High Sheriff in 1794 in the successful raising of the Lincolnshire Militia. Here was some unfinished business to be laid at the door of William Windham, the Secretary at War, who eased his worries for the county on this score [19 Feb.] with the assurance that no fees were payable, only the stamp duty<sup>6</sup>. Banks duly expressed his satisfaction<sup>7</sup> [20 Feb.] but was able to emphasise to Matthew Lewis, Deputy Secretary at War<sup>8</sup>, [21 Feb.] that Windham would never

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Gray, 16 February 1795, DTC 9. 193-196.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Hawker, 14 February 1795, SL Banks MS. and BM(SC) I, 10. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Hawker to Banks, 22 February 1795, SL Banks MS. and BM(SC) I, 10. 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> Stephenson to Banks, 22 February 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>5</sup> Parkinson to Banks, 17 February 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>6</sup> Windham to Banks, 19 February 1795, *Lindsey*, 11. 3. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Windham, 20 February 1795, *Lindsey*, 11. 3. 2A.

<sup>8</sup> Banks to Lewis, [21 February 1795], *Lindsey*, 11. 3. 1A.

have heard of the problem had not Banks mentioned it to Lord Onslow, the King's Lord-in-waiting, and currently Colonel of the Surrey Regiment of Fencible Cavalry.

Then, after more than a year of freedom from gout, the last weeks of February brought the beginnings of an attack that would last with mounting severity for some weeks to come.

Early in March, however, he was not so crippled nor so low in spirits that he could not write the first letter of a correspondence that would so often test his good nature to its limits. Writing from Manchester, a young Yorkshire stableman had approached Banks for advice on how to change his trade to that of botanical assistant or something similar<sup>1</sup>. [7 Mar.] This was well-seasoned with specimens of the sundew *Drosera* and an unknown moss for identification as evidence of his serious intentions. In reply, George Caley was to receive the first of that long series of patient and helpful letters from Banks<sup>2</sup> [7 Mar.] that was to guide him into and through the unprosperous paths of field botany in New South Wales for the next twenty years. Neither then nor in the years ahead was there a hint to Caley of the physical pain that added its own burden to the problems which that difficult young man so often presented.

On the second and fifth of March Benjamin Stephenson wrote his last letters from Mareham to Banks about the affairs of the estate which he had served so faithfully for fifty years<sup>3</sup>. Conscientious to the very end he reported the complications in the matter of the late Dr. Thorold's house in Horncastle; the damage and losses of sheep from the late flood; the Revesby low grounds full of water; 'all Engine Grounds very much oppressed, by want of Wind, to make the Engines go'; the persistent hard frost and very slow thaw, so that 'the Plows cannot go'; the 'Common People' so infected with discontent 'I almost dread the putting in execution the Act for raising Men in Parishes'. Finally there was the optimism of his last sentence - 'I keep mending' - a hope unfulfilled for at the end of the month when James Roberts returned from Soho Square to Revesby he found the old man unable to climb the stairs any more, though his gout had certainly eased<sup>4</sup>. [28 Mar.]

With Banks, however, it was quite otherwise for the disease with him had advanced with some speed and for the rest of March he was in no state to attend to the flow of business which never ceased its passage to and from No. 32 Soho Square.

There was the war, for example. For the past year the Privy Council had been occupied with the subject of the French need for saltpetre. Banks had been asked in February 1794 to obtain a scientific opinion on the methods available for producing this substance. The subject now appeared again in a letter from Charles Jenkinson 1st Baron Hawkesbury, President of the Board of Trade<sup>5</sup>. [17 Mar.] This enclosed a letter from the old Field Marshal Henry Seymour Conway whose opinion had also been sought and who now advised a prohibition of the export of nitric acid [12 Mar.] as a strategic blow at French industry<sup>6</sup>. For the past year Banks and Blagden

<sup>1</sup> Caley to Banks, 7 March 1795, DTC. 9. 201-202.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Caley, 7 March 1795, DTC. 9. 199-200.

<sup>3</sup> Stephenson to Banks, 2 and 5 March 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>4</sup> Roberts to Banks, 28 March 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Hawkesbury to Banks, 17 March 1795, DTC. 9. 156.

<sup>6</sup> Conway to Lord Hawkesbury, 12 March 1795, DTC. 9. 156-159.

had reviewed the problem in all its details and now Sir Charles Blagden replied for them both [20 Mar.], excusing Banks from the task on account of the severity of his gout<sup>1</sup>. Neither of them, however, thought that the French were gaining any benefit from the English nitric acid in their explosives manufacture.

From Windsor Dr. James Lind sought support from Banks [15 Mar.] in Royal circles as a possible custodian of the King's presents, brought back from the Emperor of China by the Macartney Embassy, and with this a possible grace-and-favour house within the precincts of the Castle. Otherwise he found his future prospects disquieting as the middle classes could not now afford physicians owing to the high cost of present living<sup>2</sup>.

From distant Tothill on the Lindsey wolds Mr. J. T. Bell intervened for his friend Dr. Laycock who was in financial distress to the tune of some £6000 and whose 'Heart was too heavy to suffer him to communicate' his worries to Banks or seek his assistance<sup>3</sup>. [22 Mar.]

In early April the worst severities of the winter had passed and Banks's gout was eased sufficiently for him to return to his correspondence and even more active business. On 2 April he was able to apologise to Henry Shirley of the House of Assembly in Jamaica for the delay caused by his gout in replying to the congratulations from the planters for the success of the new bread-fruit importations<sup>4</sup>. He disclaimed any merit for this beyond the preliminary arrangements. To Captain Bligh was due the highest commendation for his ultimate success in the transport of the plants through the hazards of their voyage from the South Seas. Perhaps there was a hint of spring already in the air but certainly Banks was well enough on the fourth of April to meet the King at Kew to discuss there at Marsh Gate Farm the future of the Spanish flock and the first projected sale of surplus breeding ewes<sup>5</sup>. Here, perhaps, was the right occasion for him to receive also direct commands from the King himself to fulfil the long-delayed promise of plants for Catherine II of Russia. Here also was no doubt the time and the occasion immediately to give the appropriate orders to William Aiton the Younger about the selection of the plants and to Mr. Brown, clerk of works at Kew, to prepare drawings of the hot houses.

At Soho Square again he was able to send a polite disclaimer to Lord Auckland [10 April] of any interest in collecting works on politics, certainly not twenty-one volumes of a particular work, for his library, though large, had no room for other than books on the general subject of natural history<sup>6</sup>. Under this head without question was included the subject of geography for this month was a fruitful one in African affairs. On 17 April that Committee of two – Sir Joseph Banks and Andrew Stuart, M.P. – from the African Association met where it mostly did – in Soho Square<sup>7</sup>. From this came the final sum of fifty-five pounds for the passage and outfit of Mungo Park, effectively releasing him to sail for the River Gambia on his

<sup>1</sup> Blagden to Lord Hawkesbury, 20 March 1795, B.M.A.MS. 33980. 5-8 (orig.); DTC. 9. 160-164 (copy).

<sup>2</sup> Lind to Banks, 15 March 1795, DTC. 9. 203-204.

<sup>3</sup> Bell to Banks, 22 March 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Shirley, 2 April 1795, DTC. 9. 205-207.

<sup>5</sup> Ms. diary notes, 4 April 1795, BM(SC), I, 22. 24-26.

<sup>6</sup> Banks to Lord Auckland, 10 April 1795, B.M.A.MS. 34153. 238-239.

<sup>7</sup> Minute Books of the African Association, UC MS.Add. 7087. 83-84.

first expedition. His instructions followed on 21 April, identical with those drafted by Henry Beaufoy five years earlier for the late Major Daniel Houghton<sup>1</sup>.

Botanically there was some advance too in the acceptance by George Caley [13 Apr.] of Banks's invitation to London<sup>2</sup> and Banks's confirmation [18 Apr.] of his promise to find an educational employment for him<sup>3</sup>. Anthropologically, there was also a graceful recognition from Johann Blumenbach [11 Apr.] in his letter of dedication to Banks for the third edition of *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa*, then in the press at Göttingen<sup>4</sup>. Here is one of those all too rare tributes not only to the extraordinary scientific generosity of Banks to his fellow scientists but also to his influence in the advance of taxonomy beyond the limits set by the Linnaean system. There was a step forward also in Banks's letter of 16 April to Dr. James Edward Smith recording his request to the Mayor of Falmouth for a passport for Joseph Porto, the Abbé Correia de Serra, to come to London<sup>5</sup>. From this would emerge that field excursion to Sutton on the east coast of Lincolnshire by Banks and the Abbé together during the autumn equinox of September 1796 leading to that probe of the evolutionary past on the subject of a 'submarine forest' published three years later<sup>6</sup>.

There was no end to the demands on the plant collections at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. On 20 April Banks took some trouble to dissuade William Wilberforce of the Sierra Leone Company from their urgent request to the King for useful plants for the colony. He was adamant that the conditions were not in the least favourable to a successful future for such a botanical cargo at that time – a reasonable view when the tribulations of Afzelius and the settlement at Freetown so recently at the hands of the French is remembered<sup>7</sup>.

The troubles of the country were well reflected in one of his usually informative letters to John Lloyd of Wigfair in Denbighshire on the same day. [20 Apr.] The connection was mediated by a visit from Thomas Pennant's son, David, a few days previously with news of the disturbances in North Wales arising from the prevailing doubts about the conditions of raising men for the Navy. Lloyd as a magistrate had been somewhat mishandled by a riotous mob and Banks hoped that now the people understood that there was no compulsion they had returned to their ploughs and the sowing of their Lent corn. In spite of the exorbitant price of corn Banks now saw the prospect of a fine harvest as so often followed a severe winter. The floods in Cambridgeshire, he told Lloyd, had done great damage in the three levels to the extent of £750,000 and about one-third as much again next year with no relief from the flood waters expected until 1797. On the other hand, Lincolnshire seemed to have escaped in his opinion fairly well. As to the Royal Society he was able to report that they expected very soon to have the report from Lt.-Colonel Edward Williams on the continuation of the trigonometrical survey begun by General

<sup>1</sup> Minute Books of the African Association, UC MS.Add. 7087, 85–87.

<sup>2</sup> Caley to Banks, 13 April 1795, DTC. 9. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Caley, 18 April 1795, DTC. 9. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Blumenbach to Banks, 11 April 1795, introductory letter to *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa*, Göttingen, 3rd ed.

<sup>5</sup> Banks to Smith, [16 April 1795], *Smith MS.* 1. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* 1799, LXXXIX (1) : 145–146.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to the Sierra Leone Company, 20 April 1795, SL. Banks MS. A 3 : 16.

William Roy, to be printed in the next part of the *Philosophical Transactions*. William Herschel had also promised to present an account of his great forty-foot reflecting telescope, the instrument made possible by Banks's own mediation of Herschel's case with the King and the King's liberal financial support from his own pocket<sup>1</sup>.

There still remained, however, Banks's anxiety for artichoke suckers if Lloyd could spare some to replace those lost at Spring Grove from the severity of the winter. On this and similar matters James Roberts wrote frequently towards the end of the month with news of the slow sinking of Benjamin Stephenson; the vacation of the 'Fox and Goose' punch house in Horncastle by Mrs. Smith, a tenant of Banks; the acorns gathered at Revesby for Lord Yarborough; and the final haggling with Connington the tanner over the price for the oak bark that year<sup>2</sup>.

Before the end of April [27 Apr.] came a letter from Broussonet in Gibraltar dated 23 March, in reply to Banks's letter of the first of February<sup>3</sup>. From this it is clear Banks had recovered Broussonet's lost baggage and received the tortoises sent on board the British frigate from Lisbon. It is clear also that Banks's financial arrangements for Broussonet through General Rainsford at Gibraltar had been made and duly appreciated. Banks replied to this on the first of May. The network of Banks's friendship was extending greatly to the benefit of Broussonet and of natural history.

The spring was now certainly at hand but May proved to be a dull and cloudy month. However, the temperature was rising sufficiently for thoughts of ships for a Baltic voyage to become urgent. A visit to the Foreign Office by Banks on the morning of 4 May set this matter in train with James Bland Burges, Under-secretary of State<sup>4</sup>. But the lengthening days and the first promise of spring warmth had also brought Colonel Robert Fulke Greville to Soho Square in pursuit of breeding ewes from the King's Spanish flock at Kew on behalf of his fair cousin Louisa, Countess of Mansfield. So Banks on 3 May was able to offer him twenty-three at a guinea each, a good bargain, destined after the shearing in July to join the rest of Lady Mansfield's flock at Ken Wood on the hills above the village of Hampstead<sup>5</sup>. The business of the King's sheep and the plants for Russia, both centred at Kew, remained through the spring and summer closely interwoven as Banks, recovered from his gout, set about coping with the problems they set in his duty to the King.

The pace quickened and Banks called soon after on Edward Forster jr., a future President of the Linnaean Society, but then serving in his father's business, Edward Forster and Sons, Russia merchants of Threadneedle Street. Here, on 8 May, Banks consulted him on the whole problem of 'the Present' but especially on ways and means of transport to St. Petersburg<sup>6</sup>. Edward Forster referred him the same day to Thomas Raikes, a director of the Bank of England, but also another merchant in the Russian trade and a member of the Russia Company. Raikes had moreover

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Lloyd, 20 April 1795, NLW MS. 12415. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts to Banks, 15, 24, and 30 April 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>3</sup> Broussonet to Banks, 23 March 1795, BM.A.MS. 8098. 251-252.

<sup>4</sup> Burges to Banks, 4 May 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ms. diary notes, 3 May 1795, BM(SC), I, 22. 24-26.

<sup>6</sup> Ms. diary notes, 8 May 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 33-34.



travelled through the Baltic to Russia and could provide Banks with those practical details which he always sought. Through the merchants of the Russia Company in the City he was now able to bring pressure to bear on Bland Burges at the Foreign Office to accept another ship somewhat later in the season than the *Jemima*, Captain Metcalfe, due to sail a mere week hence on 15 May for St. Petersburg – too early if any hot-house or stove plants were to survive the voyage. In his own words, Banks had begun to ‘get matters forward’ on the subject of ‘the Present’ at last. He could not, however, persuade the astute merchants of the Russia Company to share even modestly in the cost as a gamble on possible benefits to their trade from the Royal gesture of conciliation.

Banks now turned to his other time-consuming service to the King. On 12 May he visited the flock at Kew and discussed its affairs with the shepherd. The following day, the thirteenth, he visited it again, inspected the lambs, and marked 11 ram lambs for castration, in spite of the lateness of Ramsay Robinson, the King’s steward, with whose unpunctual habits Banks was just becoming acquainted since their first meeting at Soho Square on 23 March during Banks’s ordeal by gout that year. The matter of Colonel Greville’s impatience for the surplus ewes was quickly settled and Robinson instructed to sell the fat wethers to the butcher immediately. This followed from the emphatic message sent by the King to Banks much earlier [24 Mar.] pleading for less Spanish mutton at the Royal table<sup>1</sup>.

Later that same day [13 May] back at Soho Square he promised Lord Auckland to lay the prospectus for a publication by Francis Jarry, the French *émigré*, on his table and to promote subscriptions to it as far as possible. However, he also sent Auckland a card of invitation to one of his Sunday soirées to meet men who are, as he teased, ‘more interested in the Laws of Nature than the Laws of Nations’<sup>2</sup>.

Agriculture not Natural History prompted his letter to Sir John Sinclair a few days later on 16 May in search of a copy of the Report to the Board of Agriculture on the West Riding of Yorkshire for Sir Thomas Frankland, 6th bart., F.R.S., of Thirkleby. He took the opportunity before ending of passing some shrewd comments on the fleece of the Shawl or Kashmir goat received at No. 32 from the 3rd Earl of Egremont and which mistakenly had been shorn instead of combed to separate the fine undercoat from the outer hair. It was, he said, of the red kind resembling what the trade called Carmina and suitable for fine clothing or hatting. It was as fine as Vicuna and of much the same colour. He mentioned this as a reminder to Sinclair ‘to have a Comb put among the Shaggy Hair of Some of those Scotts Gents whom you are informed have [wool] down below it’<sup>3</sup>.

On the same day [16 May] he sent his advice to Robert Mylne, F.R.S., the architect and engineer who was his fellow-member on the committee of the Smeatonian Club<sup>4</sup>. In September 1793 Banks had bought the manuscripts of John Smeaton, through the mediation of Henry Cavendish, and he was now counselling a selection of the best of the reports for publication. These were the first steps in a long task

<sup>1</sup> Ms. diary notes, 24 March, 3, 12, 13 May 1795, BM(SC), I, 22. 24–26.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Lord Auckland, 13 May 1795, BM.A.MS. 34453. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Sinclair, 16 May 1795, *Sinclair MS*.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Mylne, 16 May 1795, DTC. 9. 215.

that did not end until 1812 when the three-volume work was published by what had then become the Society of Engineers.

Then from Portsmouth there set sail on 22 May the brig *Endeavour*, Captain Wyatt, bound for the River Gambia with Mungo Park on board setting out at last alone on his first African expedition<sup>1</sup>. From the same port by chance on the same day another Scottish medical traveller wrote to Banks from the *Loyalist*, Hospital Ship, fitting out for India. Here was Dr. Hugh Gillan, recently elected an F.R.S. (17 February 1795) asking Banks for collecting instructions<sup>2</sup>. It was just three years to the day on 22 May 1792 since Banks had sent Gillan, letter of introduction in hand, after their breakfast together in Soho Square to Lord Macartney in Curzon Street<sup>3</sup>. With Banks's commendation Gillan found a place in the Embassy to China under Macartney at £200 a year for 'Salary was no Primary Object with the Dr'. This was quite unlike Dr. James Lind who had refused the position unless £6000 were advanced to him before departure – seduced, Banks feared, by the Doctor's recollections of that Parliamentary vote of £4000 in 1772 which had been offered to him to go on Cook's second voyage<sup>4</sup>.

Meanwhile in Lincolnshire James Roberts was busy about the affairs of the Revesby estate<sup>5</sup> – attending to small details such as the much needed artichokes for Spring Grove; attending to larger matters such as the supply of acorns to Lord Yarborough; visiting the failing Benjamin Stephenson. [10 May.] Thomas Coltman of Hagnaby [12 May] sought his approval over a submission by the magistrates of Boston to the Court of Admiralty concerning their responsibilities in the matter of wrecks on the coast within their jurisdiction and directing the matter to his management in London<sup>6</sup>. He was further troubled in his capacity of a Lincolnshire Justice of the Peace by Mr. R. Nowell in the matter of a certain troublesome George Parkinson [13 May] even though Banks was out of the county and believed himself entitled to refuse to act<sup>7</sup>. Thomas Coltman [13 May] drew his attention to the vacant place of Governor or Constable of the Castle of Bolingbroke and his plea for Banks's patronage on behalf of his brother<sup>8</sup>. This produced an exchange of notes with Lord Hawkesbury [17 May] in whose gift 'this small Feather' lay and who was if necessary prepared to lay it on Sir Joseph<sup>9</sup>. However, finding that the receivership of the King's rents for the Duchy of Lancaster in his home county no longer went with this sinecure Banks told his Lordship '... that Circumstanced as it now is having lately fallen out of the Cap of the Collector of Rents he does not believe that any Gentleman of the tenantry would chuse to put it into his'. [17 May.] So Thomas Coltman and his brother were disappointed and Banks had to swallow the success of Mr. John Brackenbury of Spilsby in achieving the only part of the position that mattered and to accept, though not without protest, the superior

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in the interior districts of Africa in 1795, 1796, and 1797*, . . . , Mungo Park (London, 1799).

<sup>2</sup> Gillan to Banks, 22 May 1795, BM.A.MS. 33980. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Lord Macartney, 22 May 1792, UY Banks MS.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Lord Macartney, 21 March 1792, UY Banks MS.

<sup>5</sup> Roberts to Banks, 10 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>6</sup> Coltman to Banks, 12 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>7</sup> Nowell to Banks, 13 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>8</sup> Coltman to Banks, 13 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>9</sup> Lord Hawkesbury to Banks, 17 May 1795, UY Banks MS., writing in his capacity of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

patronage of 'the Bertie family', the Duke of Ancaster, to whom his Lordship had deferred<sup>1</sup>.

The affair of young George Parkinson, imprisoned at Lincoln Castle and still seeking sureties for his bond of three years good behaviour toward Miss Frances Hickman, still haunted Banks at Soho Square<sup>2</sup> in a letter from William Lumby on Parkinson's behalf. [18 May.] So also did the plea of Joseph Dickinson for Banks's intervention on his behalf<sup>3</sup> to secure better terms for his leases in Lincolnshire from the Governors of Bethlehem and Bridewell Hospital and in particular some release from the direction of a Mr. Emmet. [20 May.]

The last week of May passed with Dr. James Lind sending Banks 'a Knife for digging up and transplanting Plants' of his own design from Windsor [24 May] and tickets from 'the Frogmore Fair' for Sarah Sophia Banks's collection<sup>4</sup>; some Royal Society correspondence with Mathew Boulton, F.R.S.<sup>5</sup>, conveying the referee's points for the revision of William Chapman's paper for the *Philosophical Transactions* [25 May]; the fears of the Reverend Edward Walls of Spilsby of pirate landings on the vulnerable Lincolnshire coast<sup>6</sup> [30 May]; in contrast, the deep concern of Thomas Coltman about powers to control the 'barbarous custom' of the Lincolnshire lands men in plundering wrecks<sup>7</sup> so that '...The Merchants & Sailors (I am informed) Say it is a worse Coast to be in distress upon than that of Africa' [30 May]; and finally the hopes of the future professor Sir John Leslie, F.R.S., from distant Fife for Banks's patronage in seeking a passage to India<sup>8</sup> and a post under the H.E.I. company to instruct its young men there in the Natural Sciences. [31 May.]

The month of June opened well with sunny skies and the King's approval [2 June] of William Aiton's nomination of George Noe, the Württemberg assistant gardener at Kew<sup>9</sup>, as custodian of the plant collection for Russia with his salary to commence from Sunday 31 May.

At the same time in the drier heat of a Gibraltar summer [2 June] Broussonet was acknowledging Banks's letter of 1 May unable fully to express his gratitude for the help received, cheered by hopes of a safe return to his family under the new French decrees with his new collections from southern Spain and North Africa, but still determined to emigrate to America<sup>10</sup>. So too from the more enervating moist heat of the West African coast at Freetown Adam Afzelius<sup>11</sup> [3 June] was writing to acknowledge the safe arrival of bottles and collecting materials with funds for his other necessities sent by Banks as far back as 17 February. But their common benefactor in London was more preoccupied then with his committee meetings and explaining to Sir John Sinclair [4 June] his priorities therein setting 'his old and established duty to the British Museum' and its Committee of Expenditure above the

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Lord Hawkesbury, 17 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>2</sup> Lumby to Banks, 18 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>3</sup> Dickinson to Banks, 20 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>4</sup> Lind to Banks, 24 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>5</sup> Banks to Boulton, [25 May 1795], BAO (35).

<sup>6</sup> Walls to Banks, 30 May 1795, *Hill Coll.* 3. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Coltman to Banks, 30 May 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>8</sup> Leslie to Banks, 31 May 1795, DTC. 9. 217.

<sup>9</sup> Ms. diary notes, 2 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 33-34.

<sup>10</sup> Broussonet to Banks, 2 June 1795, BM.A.MS. 8098. 253-254.

<sup>11</sup> Afzelius to Banks, 3 June 1795, BM.A.MS. 33980. 14-15 and DTC. 9. 219-220.

claims of the Board of Agriculture and its Drainage Committee meeting set for the same hour<sup>1</sup>. Next day [5 June] he sent to Matthew Boulton the last pieces of wootz which he had received in July 1794 from Dr. Helenus Scott at Bombay and which had been successfully worked into superior steel at Sheffield by Sir Thomas Frankland in England for the first time<sup>2</sup>. Indeed Dr. George Pearson, F.R.S., lecturer in chemistry and materia medica at St. George's Hospital, would on the following Thursday, 11 June, at the Royal Society, read the paper on his careful study of the nature and properties of these very steels, about whose production Frankland had reported to the same body already<sup>3</sup>.

On 6 June Banks had a few words of encouragement for John Leslie in his Indian aspirations but urged him to publish his work on hygrometers as a measure of self-help to that end for '...when the farmer put his shoulder heartily to his cart wheel he had no occasion for Hercules to help him out of the slough' – infuriating but just advice to any young scientist on the score of publication<sup>4</sup>.

Matthew Boulton meanwhile had come to London delighted with the chance which Banks had offered him to exercise his skills with the new wootz steel<sup>5</sup>. He promised to take charge of William Chapman's paper and secure its revision. He hoped, however, that Banks had not forgotten the matter of the copper coinage for which he had made an offer to William Pitt some four years earlier to make some 1500–2000 tons of half-pence each to weigh half an ounce. [9 June.]

The new copper coinage was a matter for the future. Of more immediate concern was the letter of reminder that same day [9 June] from Colonel Robert Fulke Greville, the King's equerry, at the Queen's Lodge, Windsor, prompting him about the shearing of the King's flock – the rams in the Little Park at Windsor Castle and the ewes at Marsh Gate Farm, Kew<sup>6</sup>.

Then, as Banks returned to Soho Square from Spring Grove for the meeting of the Royal Society on Thursday, 11 June, he found a note waiting from Edward Forster jr.<sup>7</sup> This was the much-needed confirmation of a ship for Russia – the *Venus*, Captain Marmaduke Vickermann, lying in the Thames near Rotherhithe. Banks replied immediately to Forster, proposing to visit the ship on Sunday, 14 June, at 3 p.m. if that was convenient to the Captain and his Mate. In the interim there was time to arrange the washing of the King's flock in the Thames near Richmond on Friday, 12 June – 'opposite Mr. Keane's house'. There was time also for a jocular note to Sir John Sinclair the same day [12 June] deflecting that serious man from what Banks regarded as a work of supererogation under the mantle of the Board of Agriculture – a botanical guide to the recognition of the potato, '...I fear we shall be Laughd at as matters now stand for having publishd so much Common Place & I am loth to add my mite to the Triumph of the Jokers who I fear will some time or other assail our quarters'<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Sinclair, 4 June 1795, *Sinclair MS.*

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Boulton, 5 June 1795, BAO (36).

<sup>3</sup> *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.*, 1795, LXXXV (II): 322–341.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Leslie, 6 June 1795, DTC. 9. 218.

<sup>5</sup> Boulton to Banks, 9 June 1795, BAO (37).

<sup>6</sup> Greville to Banks, 9 June 1795, BM(SC), I, 17. 28–29.

<sup>7</sup> Ms. diary notes, 11 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 33–34.

<sup>8</sup> Banks to Sinclair, 12 June 1795, *Sinclair MS.*

On 13 June, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Williams was able to assure Banks that the account of the trigonometrical survey begun in 1791 which had been accepted for reading at the Royal Society would be paid for by the Board of Ordnance to the extent of 500 copies and the cost of engraving the plates, a most useful easement<sup>1</sup>.

The business of the week, however, was not yet done. There still remained the general meeting of the subscribers to the 'Association for Promoting the Discovery of the interior Parts of Africa' held on that same Saturday at St. Alban's Tavern. Here Banks still bore the burden of the occasion as he announced the recent death of Henry Beaufoy, the Association's diligent Quaker Secretary, and offered his services in that office for the time being additional to his work as Treasurer. He further announced the engagement and departure of Mungo Park as their most recent 'geographical Missionary' on the same task as the late Major Houghton for whose widow he then asked the meeting to affirm the financial provisions made. With all his proposals confirmed by the subscribers he could turn again from African to Russian affairs<sup>2</sup>.

On the morning of Sunday, 14 June Banks, who was beginning to feel the pressure of his diverse appointments, saw fit to send a sharp note to Ramsay Robinson at Kensington about the shearing at Kew on Monday morning<sup>3</sup> '...as I have various occupations & am used to Rise Early the Sooner the Shearers attend the more Convenient it will be for me...'. Then punctual to his appointment that same afternoon he went down river to Rotherhithe to inspect the little *Venus* at her moorings 'in Adermann's chains' to assess her capacity for the Russian voyage and the safe accommodation of 'the Present'. Surprised but not discouraged by her small size – much less than half the tonnage of the *Bounty* – he carefully measured her stern cabin and hold and retired to Spring Grove that night to begin his calculations. The next morning he was abroad early to drive the five miles or so from Smallbury Green to Marsh Gate Farm across the Thames over Kew Bridge in good time to set the six shearers to work on the King's Spanish Merino ewes sharp at eight o'clock<sup>4</sup>. He saw the process through to the end in the early afternoon and dispensed a guinea to the shearers on His Majesty's behalf. Then he turned to the matter of the plants for Russia and in the Royal gardens less than two miles from the King's farm he set the gardeners to work selecting and potting the chosen specimens for 'the Present'. Later he retired to the Queen's Lodge at Windsor to ponder his maritime problems.

On reflection he could not forbear to try at least one more alternative to the tiny *Venus*, one which seemed to him more appropriate in every way for this Royal gift. What better custodian and conveyance of the plants for the Grand Duchess than Captain William Bligh of H.M.S. *Calcutta* then conveniently lying at Longreach in the Thames Estuary?<sup>5</sup> Such was the nice problem which James Bland Burges received in Downing Street next morning and such was the problem he hawked

<sup>1</sup> Williams to Banks, 13 June 1795, *R. S. Misc. MSS.* 3, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. autograph draft for minutes, 13 June 1795, SL Banks MS. A 3 : 31.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Robinson, 14 June 1795, BM(SC), I, 22. 24–26.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. diary notes, 15 June 1795, BM(SC), I, 10. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Banks to Burges, 15 June 1795, Auckland Inst. & Mus. B.21 and SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 6.

about Whitehall all that day. Late that night after weary hours with the Foreign secretary, Lord Grenville, to say nothing of the Board of Admiralty the only answer Burges could send Banks was a clear 'No!'<sup>1</sup> Fighting ships, even if they were converted Indiamen, at this stage of the war were not to be spared and hard-bitten captains of experience like William Bligh were much needed in the uncertain temper of the Navy's seamen as was made clear enough before the year was out. So the little *Venus* and her captain, Marmaduke Vickermann, had to suffice for the King's botanical service to Russia as Banks was indeed quite prepared to accept<sup>2</sup>. [17 June.]

But while James Bland Burges was busy in and about Downing Street on Tuesday, 16 June, Banks himself was up betimes and busy at the Queen's Lodge, Windsor, where from 8.45 a.m. to 1.45 p.m. four shearers and the shepherd struggled to relieve forty-two rams of their fleeces under the critical eye and remorseless time-keeping of the President of the Royal Society who again rewarded them with the King's guinea<sup>3</sup>.

On Wednesday, 17 June, Banks relaxed awhile at Spring Grove before returning to Soho Square later in the day. On Thursday, 18 June, he negotiated the final details of the freight for the plants and the passage money for George Noe on the *Venus* with Captain Vickermann. On Friday, 19 June, the bargain was clinched by Banks on board the ship itself. On the same occasion he gave working instructions to Edward Benbrook the carpenter of No. 82 Rotherhithe Street, Rotherhithe. This was the man recommended by Mr. Hamilton of Hamilton and Towry, his advisers in the tricky negotiations with the Captain<sup>4</sup>.

During this week the weather had turned suddenly and severely cold and Banks hurried back to Spring Grove worried about the recently shorn rams on whose care and shelter he had previously given a warning. From the unfrocked rams at Windsor on Saturday, 20 June, he turned to the matter of clothing George Noe at Kew and that day gave him a gratuity of £30 to fit himself out for the Russian voyage in a fashion to meet the standards required by this Royal affair<sup>5</sup>.

On Sunday, 21 June, Banks perhaps relaxed awhile with time to write a gossiping letter as from Soho Square to John Lloyd in Denbighshire. In this he commended Lloyd as an active and intelligent magistrate for his role during the spring in keeping the King's peace in his part of the country which otherwise could so easily have been '...a scene of Riot military execution and bloodshed'. His plans for the summer in Derbyshire and Lincolnshire were now mature and Lloyd was invited to join the family '...at Either or both our Residences...' during the northern vacation<sup>6</sup>. It was on this day too, as it would later appear that just one month after his departure from Portsmouth in that other and less famous *Endeavour* Mungo Park had arrived at Jollipa on the River Gambia to prepare for his journey into the African interior and immortality.

<sup>1</sup> Burges to Banks, 16 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 7.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Robertson, 17 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 45.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. diary notes, 16 June 1795, BM(SC), I, 10. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. diary notes, 18 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 33-34.

<sup>5</sup> Ms. receipt, 20 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 23.

<sup>6</sup> Banks to Lloyd, 21 June 1795, NLW MS. 12415. 38.

Then on Monday, 22 June, from Spring Grove Banks visited the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, viewed the plant collection for the Tsarina, approved what he saw, and wisely ordered double potting as a suitable precaution against the rigours of the voyage<sup>1</sup>.

On Tuesday, 23 June, at the urgent insistence of Colonel Greville he visited the Spanish rams at Windsor, early in the morning as usual, only to find that Ramsay Robinson had been remiss again and had not observed Major William Price's specific orders to have the sheep ready for Banks's inspection and annual review<sup>2</sup>. However, the sheep were gathered as Banks breakfasted with the equeries at the Queen's Lodge and in the end all went well. The animals had come through the recent severe cold weather since shearing in good order and Banks was moderately pleased with those he was able to select for service next autumn in the flock at Kew. The list of numbers of those rams destined to be spread throughout England and Scotland that season he sent to Ramsay Robinson next day on Wednesday, 24 June<sup>3</sup>. At the same time he again visited the Gardens at Kew to weigh the potted plants for the *Venus* as a step toward checking the validity of the freight charges and assessing the lighterage necessary to bring the collection down river to the ship's side in due time. In all they weighed that day 3 tons 1 cwt. and 22 lb.<sup>4</sup>

On Thursday, 25 June, Banks was back in London for the meeting of the Royal Society at which was read the paper by Williams, Mudge and Dalby on the extension of Roy's trigonometrical survey for the years 1791-1794. During the day, however, Banks was again on board the *Venus* where he found the plant platform partly laid and the work going on well. To Captain Vickerman he paid £30 in advance on George Noe's passage money and from him heard that one Russian convoy had already sailed<sup>5</sup>.

From William Marsden, Second Secretary at the Admiralty, he learned on Saturday, 27 June, that the next convoy was due to sail on 7 July - a useful point to help Banks's planning but not one on which Marsden wished to be quoted, though he presumed that all the Trade knew it<sup>6</sup>. With this date in mind Banks was now able to assess his problems in moving rather more than three tons of potted plants from Kew to the *Venus* near Rotherhithe. This was a tricky conundrum of tides and times whose solution he condensed into a letter to Captain Vickerman at Batson's Coffee House, written from Spring Grove on Sunday, 28 June, and sent by the penny post from Brentford before 8 a.m. on Monday, 29 June<sup>7</sup>.

The next day on Tuesday, 30 June, came a surprise and one of the pleasures of Banks's long life of public service - a peremptory command to attend at St. James's Palace the following day, Wednesday, 1 July, for his investiture with the insignia of Knight of the Order of the Bath<sup>8</sup>. This was the Red Ribbon so long hinted at by the King, so recently discussed by the former Home Secretary Henry Dundas,

<sup>1</sup> MS. diary notes, 22 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 33-34.

<sup>2</sup> MS. diary notes, 23 June 1795, BM(SC), I, 22, 24-26.

<sup>3</sup> MS. diary notes, 24 June 1795, BM(SC), I, 22, 24-26.

<sup>4</sup> MS. diary notes, 24 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 33-34.

<sup>5</sup> MS. diary notes, 25 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 33-34.

<sup>6</sup> Marsden to Banks, 26 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 46.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Vickerman, 28 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 43.

<sup>8</sup> Fauquier to Banks, 29 June 1795, B.M.A. MS. 6325. 36.

and now at last so sudden in its descent upon his broad and worthy shoulders. All this was epitomised in a brief letter from William Fauquier, Registrar of the Order, in Clifford Street and dated 29 June. If Banks found the notice somewhat short it was altogether too much so for General Sir Ralph Abercromby who was to have been his fellow Red Ribbon that day and failed to appear. So Banks had the undivided attention of his Sovereign as he knelt on the cushion to receive the accolade and heard the Royal whisper: 'I have many years wished to do this'. This indeed appears to have been so if we may accept Banks's own record in his letter to Henry Dundas more than a year before [5 April 1794] when he had refused the honour during his term as High Sheriff of Lincolnshire<sup>1</sup>. By this it would seem that the King himself as far back as 1789 had told him that in his view a Red Ribbon was a proper honour due '... from the manner in which I conducted the business of the station I hold', that is, the Presidency of the Royal Society and all that this implied. This was probably during or soon after the King's convalescence at Kew after the long illness in the winter of 1788-9, when Banks had been a personal comfort to the King in many direct ways. In other words this was to have been an innovation of some note in the pattern of the Order which at that time Banks felt he could receive '... without suffering any diminution of my Pretensions to the Character of an independent Landowner'. But when in April 1794 Dundas as Home Secretary had proposed the honour to him he had felt the situation to be different. During his term as High Sheriff in his successful actions toward the defence of the county he thought he had somehow become too involved in a political sense; that, indeed, he could not accept at that time without risk to his reputation for 'incorruptible independence'. His refusal then, though painful, he felt was unavoidable. But now, as he replied to the congratulations of his cousin Sir Henry Hawley on Monday, 6 July, he felt he could accept the distinction as '... coming in a direct Course from the pure Fountain of honor without any portion of Ministerial Contamination'<sup>2</sup>.

All this high-mindedness, however, could not protect him from what he most wished to avoid - contumely in the public estimation. The Red Ribbon had scarcely been settled across his shoulder and the Star of the Order on his breast than he was firmly labelled and cruelly pinned down for posterity in the gross injustice of Gillray's cartoon. Published by Mistress H. Humphrey of 37 New Bond Street and spread abroad from that address by the genial lady this was a piece of most unnatural history, 'The Great South Sea Caterpillar transformed into a Bath Butterfly'. How much the iron of this historical mounting pin entered Banks's soul we cannot tell. Certainly there was no immediate effect for Banks was then too much engaged in the practical minutiae of so many unsought commitments<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Dundas, 5 April 1794, *De Beer Coll.* 1.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Hawley, 6 July 1795, *Hawley MS.*

<sup>3</sup> 'The great South Sea Caterpillar, transformed into a Bath Butterfly. Description of the New Bath Butterfly - taken from the Philosophical Transactions for 1795 - "This Insect first crawled into notice from among the Weeds & Mud on the Banks of the South Sea; & being afterwards placed in Warm Situation by the Royal Society, was changed by the heat of the Sun into its present form - it is noticed & Valued Solely on account of the beautiful Red which encircles its Body & the Shining Spot on its Breast: a Distinction which never fails to render Caterpillars valuable -"' This is the caption on the engraving, of which copies may be found in 'Catalogue of political and personal satires' by M. D. George, No. 8718, British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings.



Even at the time of the investiture the King had told him of the death of one of the rams at Windsor Castle since his last visit. This called for a letter to Ramsay Robinson [3 July] at Kensington Square ordering its replacement with No. 107 in the list of proposed destinations<sup>1</sup>. There was the small matter of gratuities to the servants of the Royal Household payable by Banks as a new Knight of the Bath – £128. 5. 10d. – and the fees due to the officers of the Order itself<sup>2</sup>. On Thursday, 2 July, there was the celebratory end of the Royal Society year in the dinner and annual general meeting of the Royal Society Club at the *Crown and Anchor* in the Strand<sup>3</sup>.

But on Saturday, 4 July, the newly hatched 'Bath Butterfly' was busy down the Thames at Rotherhithe on board the good ship *Venus* checking the stowage in the hold of the 300 potted plants of 'the Present'<sup>4</sup>; complimenting the carpenter on the economy and neatness of the special platform made to Banks's design; giving George Noe his written instructions freshly drawn up, his wages and money for gratuities to the sailors. The plants had come down safely on the evening tide of Thursday, 2 July, as Banks and the Captain had agreed. With them had come the list of plants prepared by William Aiton [2 July] somewhat hastily at the last for Banks to check<sup>5</sup>. This done he had prepared his own precautionary advice to Sir Charles Whitworth in St. Petersburg on the details of 'the Present' which he entrusted evidently to the safe hand of George Noe in a small departure from strict protocol in case the King's messenger with the diplomatic pouch should not arrive before the *Venus*. This was a copy of his own letter to James Bland Burges at the Foreign Office dated 4 July under cover of a personal note to Whitworth of the same date. It was a typical piece of forethought in which Banks asked Whitworth only that he would keep the means whereby he received the information secret. It was also a sign of Banks's confidence in the integrity of George Noe<sup>6</sup>.

With this parting visit to the *Venus*, satisfied by his own careful supervision to the last that all was well with 'the Present' he returned to Soho Square, able to give Burges a final report on all that he had done to fulfil the intentions and spirit of the Royal gift<sup>7</sup>. [4 July.] He could do no more and as the *Venus* dropped down the river on Monday, 6 July, to wait a further week for her convoy, Banks turned to the task of answering the letters and footnotes of congratulation on his K.B. that flowed in from Lord Auckland, Lord Macartney, John Lloyd and many others near and far.

He turned to Richard Gough seeking prints of relevance to his collection of maps and illustrations relating to the County of Lincolnshire from the second volume of *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain* then in press with John Nichols<sup>8</sup>. From

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Robinson, 3 July 1795, Ms. diary notes, BM(SC), I, 22. 24–26.

<sup>2</sup> Cooke to Banks, – July 1795 (receipt), DTC. 9. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Geikie, A., *Annals of the Royal Society Club* (1917), p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> MS. diary notes, 4 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 33–34.

<sup>5</sup> Aiton to Banks, 2 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 39.

<sup>6</sup> Banks to Whitworth, 4 July [1795], SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 48.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Burges, 4 July 1795, R.S.Misc. MS. 6. 64 and DTC 9. 221–226.

<sup>8</sup> Banks to Gough, 11 July 1795, Nichols, L.I. 4. 698; *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain applied to illustrate the History of Families, Manners, Habits, and Arts from the Norman Conquest*, vol. I, publ. 1786; vol. II, publ. 1796; introduction publ. 1799.

Nichols himself the same day, Saturday, 11 July, he sought the return of Sir George Staunton's paper on the East Indian poison tree Cayu Upas which had been submitted to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the receipt of which he acknowledged<sup>1</sup> on Sunday, 19 July.

On Tuesday, 14 July, as George Noe and the *Venus* sailed at last from the Nore<sup>2</sup> under convoy of H.M.S. *Daedalus*, 'a nice little frigate' of 32 guns, Banks himself was among the Spanish rams in the 11-acre field in the Little Park at Windsor<sup>3</sup>. Here he was checking their condition which he found much improved; the state of their yard and shelter shed which he found good; and the state of their pasture which he found overgrown, and for which he recommended a few head of cattle to eat down the fast-growing grass tufts. The rams for Josiah Ridgway, Major William Price's tenant in Herefordshire, had already gone away on 8 July. Many others remained, notably those for the Duke of Montrose to go to his estate at Buchanan near Glasgow. About their despatch Banks wrote from Spring Grove on Saturday, 18 July, after the Duke's servant had called on Banks the previous afternoon with a covered cart<sup>4</sup> for the two rams in question, Nos. 16 and 91. They were to sail from the Thames that Sunday, 19 July, for Leith where they arrived the next Friday, 24 July. The following afternoon of Saturday, 25 July, the plants for Russia had completed the first stage of their risky voyage as the *Venus* anchored safely at Elsinore in Denmark<sup>5</sup>.

In Lincolnshire, the undercurrent of estate matters had been flowing quietly but steadily, undeflected by the affairs of Courts and Kings during the early summer. James Roberts on 2 June had reported the collection of the Holbeach rents and the arrival of the new pointer puppy for the keeper at Revesby<sup>6</sup>. He added a long account of the paralytic stroke and further decline of Benjamin Stephenson whose longer survival was not much expected by John Parkinson<sup>7</sup> when he wrote on 28 June. The old man was still in the same sorry state he had suffered for the past six weeks when James Roberts again wrote on 4 July reporting the collection of the Revesby and Horncastle rents and the sending of some 'ancient Arms' in a box to Soho Square<sup>8</sup>. Charles Chaplin of Blankney on 10 July speaking for the proprietors of land west of the River Witham sought Banks's support for an extension of the embankment and Lady Banks's sponsorship for his new-born daughter at her christening but added his congratulations on the new honour, perhaps the first from the county<sup>9</sup>. This was followed soon after by one from Richard Ellison, M.P., on 16 July to the effect - 'Honors become really such when they are the reward of

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Nichols, 11 July 1795, *Nichols*, L.I. 4 698; Banks to Nichols, 19 July 1795, *Nichols* L.I.

<sup>4</sup> 698.

<sup>2</sup> Noe to Banks, 13 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 14.

<sup>3</sup> MS. diary notes, 14 July 1795, BM(SC), I, 22. 24-26.

<sup>4</sup> MS. diary notes, BM(SC), I, 22. 24-26.

<sup>5</sup> Noe to Banks, 25 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 15.

<sup>6</sup> Roberts to Banks, 2 June 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>7</sup> Parkinson to Banks, 28 June 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>8</sup> Roberts to Banks, 4 July 1795, UY Banks MS. For a metallurgical analysis of these 'ancient arms' see *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* 1796, LXXXVI (II) : 395-451. This paper read by George Pearson, F.R.S., 6 June 1796, acknowledges Banks as the provider of the instruments and 'for almost all the curious particulars relative to the history of these instruments'.

<sup>9</sup> Chaplin to Banks, 10 July 1795, UY Banks MS.

merit & the character of Sir Joseph Banks must stamp a value upon any title conferred upon him<sup>1</sup>. This was a hurried courtesy in passing on to the more immediate problems of the Horncastle Canal, which was a matter taken up also by John Parkinson in his letter of 18 July complete with a sketch plan<sup>2</sup>. The nub was a proposal by the Commissioners of the Horncastle Navigation for a waggon bridge at the end of Kirkby Lock to link the village with the pastures on Banks's Lordship of Toft Hill. Banks consented to it on 22 July subject to agreement with John Burnham about the course of the road which could affect the site of certain proposed brick-kilns. This was a change eventually made as today's ordnance survey shows in common with so much else due to Banks in the present map of Lincolnshire<sup>3</sup>.

The scene of this small piece of civil engineering on the River Bain was only a few miles north of the fishing rendezvous which cannot have been far from Banks's mind as he thanked John Lloyd on 23 July for his congratulations and repeated his invitation of 21 June to the summer relaxations of Revesby Abbey '...now if you will Drive with us, Fish with us, Race with us, or be Quiet with us any or all of these things we shall be happy in your participation'. He gave Lloyd the dates and the route settled at last but a somewhat later departure from Spring Grove than he had formerly intended. He ended with the foreshadowed problems of the harvest and the national shortage of the corn supply which was to dog his travels that summer and autumn '...we are all Eating Wheat meal no Flower used in Rich Families it will be a near run matter whether or no we can hold it out'<sup>4</sup>.

The month, however, closed with a somewhat curt rejection of a long dissertation from one, Gregory Farquharson of Wilderwick House<sup>5</sup>, upon the uses of yeast in baking and brewing [24 July]. Banks demurred on the ground that he was President of the Royal Society not of the Brewers Association<sup>6</sup> and that it should be addressed to the public at large not to him as a private individual. [30 July.] This may have been a sign of strain after the past three months of unending physical activity so soon after his gout in March. Or perhaps he was merely in some haste to leave London for his weekend in Sussex at Sheffield Place with the Holroyd family, though not this year enticed by the bait of 'the Gibbon'<sup>7</sup> being present. He alas was beyond these summer jollities. For eighteen months now he had been resting in the Sheffield mausoleum at Fletching quietly waiting for his reunion with the noble Lord to come. Meanwhile Banks was at his most charming that year relaxing with his host and the women of their families, captured for us briefly by Maria Josepha Holroyd<sup>8</sup>, one of the future ladies of Alderley: '...The Red Ribbon has made no alteration to Sir Jo. in any other respect than that there is a red ribbon on his waistcoat. He sprawls upon the Grass, kisses Toads, and is just as good-humoured a nondescript of an Otaleitan as ever!<sup>9</sup> So much for the image of the Great South Sea Caterpillar in

<sup>1</sup> Ellison to Banks, 16 July 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>2</sup> Parkinson to Banks, 18 July 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>3</sup> O.S. one-inch, sheet 114, TF 245 625 for site of bridge.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Lloyd, 23 July 1795, NLW. MS. 12415. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Farquharson to Banks, 24 July 1795, Kew B.C. 2. 126.

<sup>6</sup> Banks to Farquharson, 30 July [1795], Kew B.C. 2. 126 (2).

<sup>7</sup> Edward Gibbon, F.R.S. (1737-1794), historian, for whom Lord Sheffield was literary executor.

<sup>8</sup> Maria Josepha Holroyd (1771-1863), eldest daughter of John Baker Holroyd, 1st Earl Sheffield, wife of Sir John Thomas Stanley, F.R.S. (1766-1847), 1st Baron Stanley of Alderley.

<sup>9</sup> Adeane, J. H., *The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd* . . . (1896), p. 329.

the Gillray smear. Then on Monday, 3 August, Banks and Lord Sheffield visited the Wool Fair in Lewes; an occasion now of some eight years standing which Banks had done so much to initiate in 1787. For a quarter of a century more it would survive as a base from which Lord Sheffield, with Banksian data to serve him, would provide a one-man price review for the sheepbreeder and wool trade of the nation.

On his return to London he was greeted by a letter from Sir Charles Blagden, Secretary of the Royal Society since the 'Dissensions' of 1783-4<sup>1</sup>, but now summering at Bognor in Dorset. [2 Aug.] Hovering as always on the fringes of aristocracy Blagden was now in the orbit of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, then in her ripe maturity, but this did not suborn him from his secretarial duty to the Royal Society. The summer vacation for both the President and the Secretary was never free from the problems of papers, past, present and future. In this case Blagden was reporting not merely the state of the Dorset crops but the intentions of a precocious young man of seventeen in Edinburgh who was proposing to report to the Royal Society of London on his physical and mathematical studies of certain branches of Optics which the great Newton had apparently neglected. The young man wished to remain anonymous for the present but in due course he would stand revealed as Henry Peter Brougham, the future Lord Brougham, Lord Chancellor of England. Banks also received about the same time a letter from John Leslie at Largo in Fife<sup>2</sup> withdrawing his paper on hygrometry for further revision and re-writing although it had been accepted by the Royal Society [2 Aug.], a course which Blagden later much approved<sup>3</sup>. [11 Aug.]

Again the King's flock claimed Banks's attention immediately on his return to London from Sheffield Place<sup>4</sup> as Ramsay Robinson told him on 4 August that arrangements had been made for the wool weighing in the barn at Marsh Gate Farm on Saturday, 8 August. With this news Banks arranged for John Buxton, wool stapler at Bermondsey<sup>5</sup>, to meet him next Saturday at nine a.m. on the farm. [6 Aug.] At the same time Banks asked for the ram lambs to be folded in the yard in front of the barn<sup>6</sup> so that he could inspect them while the wool was being weighed. [6 Aug.] All this was duly arranged and the wool sent through John Buxton to John Walker of Painswick in Gloucestershire to be made there into cloth. This was done the following week with Ramsay Robinson acting under a certain amount of pressure<sup>7</sup> from Banks [9 Aug.] who left the affairs of the flock with a final demand for details of the carcase weights and prices of the Spanish wethers<sup>8</sup> which had been put out to fatten. [12 Aug.]

He turned again also to the affairs of the African Association in the matter of the petition for aid by Major Daniel Houghton's widow. Acting on a verbal message from Sir John Hort who headed the Association's Committee presenting

<sup>1</sup> Blagden to Banks, 2 August 1795, B.M.A.MS. 33272. 139-140. Henry Brougham's paper on light was read on 28 January 1796 and printed in *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* LXXXVI (1): 227-277.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie to Banks, 2 August 1795, DTC. 9. 273-274.

<sup>3</sup> Blagden to Banks, 11 August 1795, B.M.A.MS. 33272. 143 and DTC. 9. 280-281.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson to Banks, 4 August 1795, BM(SC), I, 10. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Buxton to Banks, 6 August 1795, BM(SC), I, 10. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Banks to Robinson, 6 August 1795, BM(SC), I, 10. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Robinson, 9 August 1795, BM(SC), I, 10. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Banks to Robinson, 12 August 1795, BM(SC), I, 10. 22.

the memorial to the Government he wrote personally to William Windham, Secretary at War. [8 Aug.] He took it upon himself to urge Windham to fulfil his promise to present the memorial to Pitt because, he said, it was not possible to assemble the Committee at that season to do this more formally. This move was in the end successful and very much to the benefit of the good lady and her two young sons and as a salve to the conscience of the Association, who had, nonetheless, already done much to ensure her comfort and security<sup>1</sup>.

The August migration of the Banks's *ménage* was now close at hand but there was one last point from Dr. Andrew Kippis to be answered. This concerned Kippis's life of Captain Cook prepared for inclusion in *Biographica Britannica* [10 Aug.] and fresh light which he had received from Boston, New England, about the American attitude to Cook's third voyage<sup>2</sup>. Banks was able to confirm that Benjamin Franklin was mistaken in supposing that Congress would support his view that Cook's ships should be protected and thought that Kippis's reputation as a biographer would not suffer if he were to correct his account on this point. [15 Aug.] With this last-minute footnote to history despatched the family carriage could turn out of Soho Square and along Oxford Street on the first stage of its journey north<sup>3</sup>.

To reach Overton Hall in the shadow of the scarp above the River Amber in Derbyshire by Tuesday, 18 August, implied an early start on the morning of Saturday, 15 August – early enough to pause for breakfast at the *Red Lion* at Barnet, and to sleep that night at the *White Lion* in Brickhill. Next day the route usually lay through Stony Stratford and Northampton to sleep in the *Three Swans* at Market Harborough. Then on through Leicester and Loughborough to Derby staying overnight at the *George*. Finally came the last slow 22 miles to Overton Hall near Ashover, through Matlock Bath, and the last few tricky miles down the steep narrow roads of the scarp in time to dine. This was a journey of about 150 miles and about three and a half days of travelling time in well-regulated stages of about ten miles each for a daily average of forty to forty-five miles.

At Overton the next ten days passed in the customary problems of estate affairs dominated here by the business of the Gregory Mine and its lead ore, the operation of its Boulton and Watt pumping engine, and the smelting of its produce at the works near Matlock over the hill.

These were ten fairly strenuous days, largely on horseback, moving about the steep roads along the valley of the River Amber and over the moors westward toward the Derwent, covering a territory of about forty square miles around the village of Ashover. This year on the day of his arrival he was immediately confronted with the problems arising from the competition for water supplies, arising from the Eddlestow spring, between the house at Overton and Stephenson's mill farther down the Amber. At the same time Sam Kirk, the overseer at the Gregory Mine, drew his attention to the poor running of the new 'Fire Engine' from Boulton

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Windham, 8 August 1795, SL Banks MS. A 2 : 58.

<sup>2</sup> Kippis to Banks, 10 August 1795, DTC: 9. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Kippis, 15 August 1795, DTC: 9. 282–283; cf. MS. letter Kippis to 'Mr. Urban', 11 September 1795, inserted in the front of the copy of Kippis's *Life of Cook* in the General Library, British Museum (Natural History), which acknowledges the error and corrects it.

and Watt costing as much in repairs as it appeared to save in coal. The week continued with visits to Kelstedge where his agent William Milnes had bought land sufficient for a new reservoir ; to Butterley where he approved a new oak threshing floor laid on coal cinders as a good method of checking 'that dry rot which originates from *Clavaria hypoxylon*' ; to the Upper Engine of the Gregory Mine on the edge of the scarp near the Rocking [= Cocking] Tor to settle with Francis Thomson, the Ashover engineer, about erecting a whimsie for the new shaft 'to be a Power of 8 Horses' for £280 ; over the hill to Lea where he saw Mr. Peter Nightingale's 'Pig of Roman Lead which weighs so near 8 stone as to give a just ground for Supposing that the intended weight' ; and finally a ride by himself over the hills on 28 August to discuss Isaac Alsop's cart shed. Among the tenants of the Overton estate were the members of the Allen family near the Amber from whom would come John Allen, miner, to go with Flinders on the *Investigator* voyage five years later, but this year their affairs did not obtrude in any apparent way<sup>1</sup>.

Final instructions to John Lloyd driving with his own horses up from North Wales on how to find the fishing party later on the River Witham below Dog Dyke [25 Aug.] set the scene for the first real holiday distraction<sup>2</sup>. This was quite overlaid by the arrival at Overton on 29 August of a letter from Lord Hawkesbury of 20 August after a hunt circuitously through Revesby on an uncertain postal route. Thus on the very eve of his departure on the two-day journey east to Revesby Abbey Banks was faced with a demand for his opinion by the President of the Board of Trade on a contentious paper on the corn supply of the nation, including proposals for the importation of foreign wheat. This was heavily weighted with the remark that Hawkesbury proposed to show Banks's answer to William Pitt himself and other members of the Cabinet. Banks could not forbear to remind Hawkesbury that he was in fact 'on the wing' for Lincolnshire but, in the event, his answer was as long and as well-considered as if he had been at rest in his own study at Soho Square<sup>3</sup>. It was well laced with his own topical observations on the state of the crops and the temper of the people on his route up through the Midlands. [30 Aug.]

This year the family arrived at Revesby on Tuesday, 1 September, delayed it would seem by Banks's last-minute cogitations on the corn supply at Overton for next day the fishing expedition started somewhat later than Banks had promised John Lloyd. In fact the carriages did not leave Revesby Abbey until about eleven and the party did not embark on the boats at Dog Dyke until somewhat after twelve-thirty. Lloyd himself did not overtake the boats until after dinner on board just before six p.m. near Copin Sike, well down the Witham. Soon after the whole party landed at the Grand Sluice in Boston and Sir Joseph and his ladies stayed that night with Mr. Thomas Fydell, M.P. for Boston.

For four days the boats netted up and down the Witham between the Grand Sluice and Langrick Ferry with a total catch that year of 2567 pounds of pike, perch, eels and various white fish. Of this weight some 200 pounds were dressed and consumed for dinner at various points along the Witham, either on the bank or under awnings

<sup>1</sup> MS. estate notes. SL Banks MS.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Lloyd, 25 August 1795, NLW. MS. 12415. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Lord Hawkesbury, 30 August 1795, SL. Banks MS. Ag 1 : 97.

on the boat as the weather dictated. On an average this year some thirty people, young and old, male and female, composed the party as Banksian guests – all Lincolnshire friends, except John Lloyd from distant Denbighshire. These were a cross-section of the county middle class, families of property, men of responsibility in county affairs, the church, the civil service and the magistracy – Cartwright, Fydell, Batty, Linton, Kenrick, Pacey, Brachenbury, Coltman, Walls, Rogers, Massingberd, Ellison, Elphinston, Partridge, Wheeler, Brand, Chaplin. These were the families represented this year at the fishing on the Witham.

The method was to use a long Seine net, 200 × 20 feet, drawn by two horses, one on either bank. The River Witham was well suited to this procedure for from Dog Dyke to the Grand Sluice it was an artificial channel ten and a half miles long, varying from 80 to 100 feet in width, and so free from roots, weed and other obstructions that the net was seldom caught or torn.

The week preceding the races at Lincoln, generally the first week in September, was the usual time for the fishing parties. As this was only done once during the year there was never any failure of sport though the total catch varied much from year to year. Usually 'the Company' dined under an awning on the big boat which was 52 feet 6 inches long with a deck 11 feet wide. The cooking fires were made on the river bank and here, if the weather were right, a more casual dinner was sometimes taken. The catch was most commonly pike, perch, and eels 'in the highest perfection' occasionally carp and barbel though these were rare. A profusion of bream and chub was always caught and these were divided among the numerous followers and assistants from the surrounding countryside and towns at this annual and well-known event. Occasionally a salmon, a flounder or a tench (as this year) would appear in the catch. The nets would be drawn during the day about ten times and the catch on each occasion carefully recorded by Sarah Sophia Banks from the weights taken by her brother Joseph. Other boats were there apart from the covered boat for 'the Company'. There was 'the black boat' covered with a tarpaulin for the servants; there was Major John Cartwright's rowing boat; there was Thomas Fydell's yacht the *Union*, and perhaps others which varied from time to time.

As a regular event of the late summer the Witham fishing continued at least for the thirteen years from 1783 to 1796. Thereafter it declined and probably ceased after 1798 when Banks's exceptionally long and painful illness confined him at Spring Grove that year so that the northern journey was not made.

This year the catch included 21 silver coins found in the Witham on 6 May at Cunnock Lock and brought to Banks during the first day's fishing on 2 September as a small sop to his known interest in all things antiquarian<sup>1</sup>.

There was also that same day brought to him a letter from Francis Masson in London as a sign of his concern and responsibility for all things botanical<sup>2</sup>. Masson, but recently returned from nearly a decade at the Cape, was seeking from Banks an order on Messrs. Coutts for £80 in cash as an immediate settlement of his passage

<sup>1</sup> 'Minute of the annual Fishery on the River Witham began MDCCLXXXIV', p. 133, *Hawley MS*. This volume contains the details of the fishing for the period 1784–1796.

<sup>2</sup> Masson to Banks, 28 August 1795, *SL Banks MS. A 1*: 28.

money home and promising to have all his accounts in order for Banks's inspection in the autumn. With his customary promptness in all these financial problems of his collectors Banks replied on 3 September with the bankers order required and at the same time settling Masson's mind on the score of all further bills to come.

With a brief respite at Revesby Abbey after the fishing the races at Lincoln took place the following week from Wednesday, 9 September, to Saturday, 12 September, an annual concession to the enthusiasms of Lady Banks and that excellent whip, Sarah Sophia, but less rewarding to Sir Joseph though he endured them with his usual good humour. The fishing and the races in Lincolnshire were probably the only two weeks in the year of almost complete relaxation for Banks from the unrelenting sequence of his correspondence.

From Blagden<sup>1</sup>, in London again, soon came a letter on Royal Society business [3 Sept.] noting progress on the engravings for Herschel's paper on his forty-foot reflecting telescope, read on 11 June. This was already in press, with three other papers delivered since March, but only two out of the nineteen drawings were ready for engraving<sup>2</sup>. Two papers in French had been received – an abstruse one in higher mathematics from Simon L'Huilier and one on the manufacture of sugar in Martinique by De la Corbière – seeking acceptance by the Royal Society.

From Dr. John Laidley, the physician at Pisanía on the River Gambia, came the first news Banks had received of Mungo Park. This was a letter directed to Henry Beaufoy, Secretary of the African Association, dead since 17 May that year. Banks acknowledged this as Secretary for the time being [10 Sept.] approving all that Laidley had done for Park and promising reimbursement for expenses incurred<sup>3</sup>. In this he enclosed a letter for Mungo Park himself attributing the lack of direct news to the capture of the little *Endeavour* on its return passage from the Gambia. He had accepted the office of Secretary, he told Park, because he 'was unwilling that your affairs should be Conducted by any one Else'<sup>4</sup>.

As the races at Lincoln ended two other letters were posting north to Revesby Abbey, both from the industrious President of the Board of Trade, Lord Hawkesbury. The first was the matter of the collections of M. de Calonne<sup>5</sup> recently offered to the King or to the British Museum for purchase. [11 Sept.] This was a dilemma for whose solution Banks's opinion was sought and which he deferred, with qualified expectations of the value of the collections<sup>6</sup>, until he could inspect them after his return to London on 3 November. [14 Sept.] The second pursued the theme of his last letter from Overton of 30 August to the noble Lord about the corn supply and which Hawkesbury was now acknowledging [11 Sept.] from Addiscombe Place in Surrey, though he wished any reply to be sent to him through William Fawkener, clerk to the Privy Council<sup>7</sup>. Banks answered this letter on Tuesday, 15 September, rejoiced to learn that his Lordship had 'hit upon an expedient for Securing some weeks

<sup>1</sup> Blagden to Banks, 3 September 1795, BM.A.MS. 33272. 144-145 and DTC. 9. 284-285.

<sup>2</sup> *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* 1795, LXXXV (II): 347-499.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Laidley, [10 September 1795], Dawson MS. 46. 25-26 and SL Banks MS. A 3: 53.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Park, [10 September 1795], SL Banks MS. A 3: 52.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Hawkesbury to Banks, [11 September 1795], BM.A.MS. 38310. 144; original, signed, SL Banks MS. NH 1: 2.

<sup>6</sup> Banks to Lord Hawkesbury, 14 September 1795, SL Banks MS. NH 1: 1.

<sup>7</sup> Lord Hawkesbury to Banks, 11 September 1795, SL. Banks MS. Ag 1: 100.



provision of wheat for our Luxurious Metropolis without interfering in the usual course of Commerce<sup>1</sup>. He had no doubt he would approve the plan when he learned exactly what it was in his Lordship's own good time. Meanwhile he launched into the state of the wheat crop and wheat prices in Lincolnshire, noting the trend toward substituting oats and barley for wheat in the domestic diet as he had already observed in Derbyshire and Northamptonshire.

Much nearer to Banks's immediate interests a letter came from Jonas Dryander written on 14 September sending specimens of William Bulmer's type for the printing of the first volume of the *Catalogus Bibliothecae*... of the Banksian Library at Soho Square<sup>2</sup>. He also presented Nichol's suggestions for the arrangement of the entries, and asked for Banks's comments on both these things. If all was well Dryander hoped the volume would go to press in a fortnight. There was also some mention of the 'nastiness' oozing from 'the little house' into one of the coal cellars at Soho Square and Mr. Goran's report on what was necessary to deal with it. Banks's comments were sent back on 17 September to which Dryander replied from London on 24 September happy to have Banks's approval of the specimen sheets<sup>3</sup>. He hoped to start Bulmer composing the following week but intended to go slowly at first. He noted also that Mr. Goran and his henchmen would set to work emptying 'the little house' at dead of night next Sunday, 27 September.

The Proceedings of the Board of Longitude intruded also in a letter from the astronomer-royal, Dr. Nevil Maskelyne, F.R.S. [15 Sept.] consulting Banks on the best plan for distributing a printed paper on the Board's proceedings against the University of Oxford to recover the valuable manuscripts of Maskelyne's predecessor, Dr. James Bradley<sup>4</sup>. Should they go first to their friends or 'into the enemies quarters', the colleges of Oxford? He was also able to report that the Admiralty were prepared to receive James Weir and Joseph Lindley on H.M. cruisers at Portsmouth for the testing of Weir's artificial horizon which the Board had had under its scrutiny for the past two years.

Abroad it is instructive to view the letters that were preparing under their writers' hands as the autumn approached. From St. Petersburg, even as the Grand Duchess's new plants from Kew were settling into their new hot-houses, Anton Hove was reporting to Banks the disruption of his work in Poland<sup>5</sup>, the destruction of his collections, his flight to Russia and his possible future employment on the Turkish border. [20 Sept.] In Vienna, however, Nicolaus Jacquin the elder was emphatic in his complaint that he had received no answers to his last six letters to Jonas Dryander [22 Sept.], little appreciating that industrious man's preoccupation with the *Catalogus Bibliothecae*...<sup>6</sup>. He would receive some months later Banks's own full exculpation of the offender [8 Mar. 1796] and a promise of the great work itself<sup>7</sup>. In Gibraltar Pierre Broussonet [23 Sept.] announced his early return to France where

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Lord Hawkesbury, 15 September 1795, SL. Banks MS. Ag 2 : 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dryander to Banks, 14 September 1795, FMC. Banks MS. 190 and DTC. 9. 292-293.

<sup>3</sup> Dryander to Banks, 24 September 1795, FMC. Banks MS. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Maskelyne to Banks, 15 September 1795, DTC. 9. 294-295.

<sup>5</sup> Hove to Banks, 20 September 1795, Kew B.C. 2. 128. Cf. Noe to Banks, 12 November 1795, SL. Banks MS. Ru 1 : 47.

<sup>6</sup> Jacquin the elder to Banks, 22 September 1795, B.M.A. MS. 809S. 363.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Jacquin the elder, 8 March 1796, ML. Banks MS. 73<sup>a</sup>.

his property was still safe, promising an early settlement of his debts to Banks, and rhapsodising over the vast unworked field of Natural History he had found in North Africa<sup>1</sup>. From Lisbon the Duc de Lafoens [26 Sept.] was seeking news of 'our Abbé' Correia de Serra and the use of Banks's library and collections on his behalf<sup>2</sup> – a fruitful association already established and due to blossom just one year hence in their exploration of the palaeobotany of the Lincolnshire coast together<sup>3</sup>. From Dominica Henry Hamilton, the island's Governor, [27 Sept.] was seeking Banks's opinion on a theory he had formed about climatic changes and variations in the Polar ice-pack – a subject close to Banks's own heart<sup>4</sup>.

Perhaps of more immediate impact was the letter from Archibald Menzies [14 Sept.] written on board H.M.S. *Discovery* in the Shannon on her way home after nearly six years in the Pacific on the American coast and among the islands, portending new botanical riches<sup>5</sup>. It presaged also much trouble for Banks as Menzies's state of arrest imposed by Captain George Vancouver gave ample warning. More hopeful but more distant yet was the letter received under cover of one from East India House dated 22 September. This was the copy of Dr. William Roxburgh's letter from Calcutta<sup>6</sup>, directed to Banks, with the list of plants now sailing home under the care of Peter Good on the *Royal Admiral*, dated as far back as 25 April. But this was a problem for the coming winter<sup>7</sup>.

While these letters were being framed or slowly finding their way across a war-torn world towards him Banks and his family were 'all well and merry' after the fishing and the races as he told John Lloyd later<sup>8</sup>. Indeed Banks was happily engaged in practising the art of water divining according to the principles of Mr. Elkington. This harked back to a visit by Banks to Woburn Park on 4 December the previous year where he had seen Elkington at work for the Duke of Bedford<sup>9</sup>. Now he was applying what he had learned with apparent success in discovering springs in the upper levels of Revesby Abbey park. A particular success was the finding of one that his father had sought but failed to find some forty-eight years before in 1747. This was already yielding three hogsheads a day (c. 160 gallons per day or c. 1100–1200 gallons per week). From all these new springs, when linked together, he had estimated the house could be supplied entirely instead of by the prevailing system of pumping from ponds and wells. To meet the weekly household demand he would require some 70 hogsheads or roughly 3800 gallons.

October, the last month of the late summer vacation, opened and continued with the affairs of the Royal Society becoming more insistent as Blagden raised problems of incoming papers, referees, and the printing of papers already accepted and read.

<sup>1</sup> Broussonet to Banks, 23 September 1795, BM.A.MS. 8098. 255–256.

<sup>2</sup> Duc de Lafoens to Banks, 26 September 1795, BM.A.MS. 33980. 16 and DTC. 9. 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* 1799, LXXXIX (1): 145–156.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton to Banks, 27 September 1795, BM.A.MS. 33980. 18–19.

<sup>5</sup> Menzies to Banks, 14 September 1795, Kew B.C. 2. 127 and DTC. 9. 288–291.

<sup>6</sup> H.E.I. Co. to Banks, 22 September 1795, BM.A.MS. 33979. 192.

<sup>7</sup> Roxburgh to Banks, 25 April 1795, BM.A.MS. 33980. 9–10.

<sup>8</sup> Banks to Lloyd, 5 October 1795, NLW. MS. 12415. 41.

<sup>9</sup> MS. notes by Banks on a visit to Woburn Park, 4 December 1794, and further notes of a ride with Elkington on Crawley Moor, 24 March 1796. UY Banks MS. Banks said of him: '... he seems free from all Charlatanery & desirous of Communicating all he Knows but for want of science he has not the means of explaining himself'.

[5 Oct.] There was some dispute among the authors of the paper on the trigonometrical survey presented by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams which was delaying the printing. De la Corbière in Martinique must have his reply written in French by Layard, the Society's Foreign Secretary, who was away. The very long paper on optics by the very young 'gentleman of Edinburgh' had been received. The mathematical paper by Simon L'Huilier, on Banks's suggestion, had been submitted to Maskelyne but he was still out of town<sup>1</sup>.

All these things reflected the seasonal dislocation of academic and scientific life as its practitioners pursued the last comforts of a dying summer. However, by the end of the month, Blagden could report [23 Oct.] that at least the title of the paper on the trigonometrical survey and its authorship had been settled as between Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, Captain Mudge, and Mr. Dalby and its communication assigned to the Duke of Richmond, who was still at the Ordnance Office, though since the previous February no longer Master-General. The young man's paper from Edinburgh had been found tedious and badly prepared and if thought worthy of printing would have to be much altered. On the other hand L'Huilier's paper seemed to have much merit. Count Rumford had arrived in England with a batch of papers drafted but unfinished. Then as a final rub for the President he reported that Elkington the water diviner had completely failed in his attempts to drain Petworth Park in Sussex and his reputation had greatly suffered<sup>2</sup>.

At Soho Square the seduction of the summer and approaching autumn had left Jonas Dryander unmoved. The business of the Library was well-matched with that of the Royal Society. He was undoubtedly giving priority to the preparation of the *Catalogus Bibliothecae* . . . for its printing by Bulmer but he dutifully sent on the letters as they arrived and recorded the steady flow of publications. [1 Oct.] From the Rabbi Herman Treschow in Denmark had come the *Flora Danica* and the proceedings of the Agricultural Society at Copenhagen; from Norway a periodical; from various quarters four bundles of theses some of which were good and 'made a hole in the catalogue of wants'; a volume on Oaks was sent on to Revesby Abbey with a 'Scotch Crown' for Miss Banks from Dr. Wright of Edinburgh 'who also wants something' - a copper medal of Captain Cook<sup>3</sup>.

In answer to a letter of enquiry from John Lloyd the wide-ranging character of Banks's intelligence system revealed itself again as he confirmed the reports in the newspapers of the finding of gold in Ireland. [9 Oct.] Banks had in fact seen a letter from William Marsden's brother Alexander who had been on the spot in the middle of September, just three weeks earlier<sup>4</sup>. He now sent Lloyd the details of where it was 'in the County of Wicklow 6 miles west of Arelow in a Level valley abutting on & very near to the Steep side of a high Mountain' with many other circumstantial details. This was the beginning of a sequence of letters and action as John Lloyd set off forthwith for Ireland. The results would finally appear as

<sup>1</sup> Blagden to Banks, 5 October 1795, B.M.A.MS. 33272. 146-147 and DTC. 9. 298-299. The paper by Simon L'Huilier, F.R.S., was read 18 February 1796 and printed in *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* LXXXVI (1): 142-165.

<sup>2</sup> Blagden to Banks, 23 October 1795, B.M.A.MS. 33272. 148-149 and DTC. 9. 306-307.

<sup>3</sup> Dryander to Banks, 1 October 1795, F.M.C. Banks MS. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Lloyd, 9 October 1795, NLW. MS. 12415. 41.

a communication to the Royal Society and be printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*<sup>1</sup>. The community of interest between these two mine-owners prompted Banks to lay another task on John Lloyd, emphasising their deep concern with all things geological, not merely Irish gold. He prayed that when Lloyd should return to visit their mutual friend Sir George Shuckburgh, F.R.S., in Warwickshire he would 'Examine the mineral in the Tunnell which is Calld Clunch'. He was to report to Banks 'how many beds of Iron Stone have been seen in this Clunch as they call it & whether nautili which are the genuine Productions of the ocean are found in Strata above the Iron Stone beds which seem by the Flags they abound with to have been of vegetable origin in Short the Peat bogs of a Prior world'.

As the annual visit to Revesby Abbey came to its autumnal end a variety of matters from the world outside the fens maintained the ebb and flow of letters. Banks had been pondering the value of swan skins and seeking information in London from whence came full information on the skinning and dressing of the birds from Mr. Kleinert<sup>2</sup> of Highgate [12 Oct.] and also no less than Alexander Aubert, F.R.S.<sup>3</sup> who had probed the business among other more philosophical pursuits. [20 Oct.] January seemed to be the proper month for killing the birds, a detail reserved for future reference<sup>4</sup>. John Leslie from Fife [15 Oct.] was now a candidate for the chair of Natural Philosophy at St. Andrews and was eager for Banks's support<sup>5</sup>. Across the Forth at Leith Captain William Bligh was anchored in H.M.S. *Calcutta*<sup>6</sup>, instead of with the convoy from the Orkneys, having been diverted to aid the Army in quelling a mutiny on board H.M.S. *Defiance*, and with this news kept his name fresh in the mind of his benefactor. [19 Oct.] From Vienna William Heidinger had come, a mineralogist, whom Banks was sure from his credentials he could safely recommend to Matthew Boulton at Birmingham<sup>7</sup> as an upright scientist who would not pry into secrets of manufacture. [20 Oct.] Heidinger would later be the safe hand to Vienna bearing a soothing letter back to the elder Jacquin<sup>8</sup>, nettled by Dryander's silence from Soho Square. [8 Mar.] Then to William Ramsay of the Honourable East India Company he sent his thanks for presentation to the Court of Directors for the plant collection sent home by Robert Brooke, Governor of St. Helena. [22 Oct.] He promised to draw the King's attention to the handsome manner in which the Directors had promoted the science of botany<sup>9</sup>. The subject was again foremost in his mind as he answered the letter from the Duc de Lafoens of 26 September, pledging [27 Oct.] every assistance to the Abbé Correia de Serra<sup>10</sup>, a promise well fulfilled and amply rewarded, if by no other means than the Abbé's part in

<sup>1</sup> *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* 1796, LXXXVI (1) : 34-38, 43-45.

<sup>2</sup> Kleinert to Banks, 12 October 1795, Dawson MS. 45. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Aubert to Banks, 20 October 1795, Dawson MS. 45. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Roberts to Banks, 13 January 1802, UY Banks MS. Here Roberts, concerning the killing of some swans at Stickford for their skins, reminds Banks '. . . you know Sir that I have been a little used to skinning Birds, and have not quite forgot, tho' now 'tis about 33 years since you taught me how, when at New Zealand'.

<sup>5</sup> Leslie to Banks, 15 October 1795, DTC. 9. 300-301.

<sup>6</sup> Bligh to Banks, 19 October 1795, DTC. 9. 303-305.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Boulton, 20 October 1795, BAO. (39).

<sup>8</sup> Banks to Jacquin the elder, 8 March 1796, ML., Banks MS. 746.

<sup>9</sup> Banks to the H.E.I. Co., 22 October 1795, I.O. *Misc. Letters Received*, 93. 207.

<sup>10</sup> Banks to the Duc de Lafoens, 27 October 1795, BM.A.MS. 33980. 17 and DTC. 9. 207.

consolidating the introduction of Robert Brown into the circle at Soho Square three years hence<sup>1</sup>.

Then at last the matter of 'the Present' emerged again with James Bland Burges announcing his retirement from 'official drudgery' though still 'liable for some time to what the Lawyers call Remanets'. With one of these small pieces of unfinished business he now troubled Banks [24 Oct.], namely Captain Vickerman's account received from Sir Charles Whitworth in St. Peterburg for the transport of the Tsarina's plant collection<sup>2</sup>. Banks was quick to reply [28 Oct.] with congratulations on the baronetcy to be conferred on Burges at the end of his public life but no less ready to contest the accuracy of the account with which he would deal further on his return to London on 3 November 'floods permitting'<sup>3</sup>.

Again it is worth a glimpse at some of Banks's distant correspondents who were that October preparing letters yet to come – some within weeks, others not for many months far into the next year. From Naples Sir William Hamilton, longing for the end of a war that had scarcely begun, wrote to acknowledge the arrival of four copies of his paper on the most recent eruption of Vesuvius, from the first part of the current volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*. [10 Oct.] He sent also a sketch and description of some small fishes called Cicinielli by the Neopolitans and greetings from the second Lady Hamilton, on the brink of becoming Admiral Nelson's Emma, whose 'mind has gained and her body lost nothing of its beauty' since Banks had last seen her four years before<sup>4</sup>. Less complicated by social undertones was the letter from Johann Blumenbach from Göttingen curious to obtain a small specimen of the Indian wootz steel<sup>5</sup> of which already he had heard rumours that the Royal Society possessed some. [15 Oct.] But more distant still at the very limits of Banks's or any European's lines of communication several letters were prepared that month at Sydney in Port Jackson, New South Wales. The new Governor, Captain John Hunter, announced his arrival in H.M.S. *Reliance* on 7 September, having escaped the French cruisers and after a passage of more than seven months. [12 Oct.] He had found the colony much better than had been reported; the live-stock and the cultivation thriving better under the hands of private individuals than of Government; and, most valuable, the finding again of the cattle lost in 1788 now grown to a large but very wild herd<sup>6</sup>. Commander Henry Waterhouse, Captain of the *Reliance*, wrote to the former Governor, Captain Arthur Phillip, a long account of the state of the colony which duly found its way into Banks's hands. [24 Oct.] He recorded his plain opinion of the *Reliance* – 'I never sailed in so complete a tub' – and noted without comment 'A Mr. Flinders is appointed our 2<sup>d</sup> Lieut. in the room of the one left at Rio de Janeiro...'<sup>7</sup>. The young master's mate had advanced a step further and was soon to lay up a store of experience in seamanship and sailing with that same 'tub' in its next historic circumnavigation under Waterhouse in the wild unruly 'forties' of the South Seas. There was also

<sup>1</sup> Corria de Serra to Banks, 17 October 1798, Kew B.C. 2. 206 and DTC. 11. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Burges to Banks, 24 October 1795, DTC. 9. 308–309.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Burges, 28 October 1795, DTC. 9. 310.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton to Banks, 10 October 1795, B.M.A.MS. 34048. 83–85.

<sup>5</sup> Blumenbach to Banks, 15 October 1795, B.M.A.MS. 8098. 224.

<sup>6</sup> Hunter to Banks, 12 October 1795, DTC. 9. 246–251.

<sup>7</sup> Waterhouse to Phillip, 24 October 1795, DTC. 9. 252–255.

a long letter from the 30-year-old Army Captain William Paterson, the aspirant F.R.S. and present commander of the turbulent N.S.W. Corps, who had for the past year carried the burden of Lieutenant-Governor of the young colony of little more than three thousand people, two-thirds of them convicts or convict born<sup>1</sup>. He referred to the letter from Banks which Governor Hunter had brought and which, he said, had brought great satisfaction to the colony. This and the contents of the small plant cabin on the quarter deck of H.M.S. *Reliance* were an earnest of real and practical services by Banks to the colony which were to extend over the next twenty-five years with incalculable results to the future of the Southern Hemisphere. [26 Oct.] These letters were apparently all swept together with Hunter's despatches to the Duke of Portland<sup>2</sup>, successor to Henry Dundas as Home Secretary, and sent home by the *Young William* by way of China, sailing from Sydney on 29 October.

The next day, 30 October, Banks turned south from Revesby Abbey unaware of the violent scenes of the previous few days in London for no hint had filtered through in any of the late letters from that quarter. The popular unrest had indeed been so great that few civil servants and Ministers of the Crown had risked appearing at their offices in the vicinity of Westminster, Whitehall and St. James. Of these few William Pitt, the prime target as well as the Prime Minister, and Henry Dundas, Secretary for War, were the most prominent among those who refused to be intimidated by the spate of popular turmoil at the impending Acts to restore order – the Seditious Meetings Act and the Treasonable Practices Act<sup>3</sup>. James Bland Burges was also among the steadfast few who kept his normal hours at Downing Street but there was no hint of this in his letters to Banks. It was indeed on 29 October, while Banks's letter of 28 October was on its way to Burges, that the King himself was attacked in his coach on his way to and from the opening of Parliament that day – even shot at, according to witnesses and above all to the lords-in-waiting with him in the coach, the Earls of Westmoreland and of Onslow.

It was into the aftermath of these frightening scenes of public disorder bordering on violent revolution that Banks made his return to Soho Square. One of his first acts was to join with Lord Yarborough to press Ayscoughe Boucherette, M.P., his successor as High Sheriff of Lincolnshire, to convene a county meeting for purpose of carrying resolutions of loyalty to the King. To these would be joined an address of thanksgiving for the King's escape from 'the late atrocious attack' upon his person. The request was carried verbally by Robert Vyner, M.P. for the county, to Boucherette who agreed [17 Nov.] and set 28 November for the meeting at the County Hall in Lincoln<sup>4</sup>. The address of loyalty was generally acclaimed marred only by the written dissent of that well-known dissenter, Major John Cartwright, lately and often Banks's guest at the Witham fishing. Banks himself, for reasons which he explained to Boucherette [23 Nov.], did not return to Lincoln for the occasion but instead signed the address from Oxford which he made a particular point of attending 'as a graduate of that university' on Wednesday, 25 November<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Patterson to Banks, 26 October 1795, DTC. 9. 256–258.

<sup>2</sup> Hunter to Duke of Portland, 21 December 1795, HRNSW. II. 344–346.

<sup>3</sup> Seditious Meetings Act, 36 Geo. III. c. 7. Treasonable Practices Act, 36 Geo. III. c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Vyner to Banks, 17 November 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>5</sup> Banks to Boucherette, 23 November 1795, UY Banks MS.

Meanwhile John Lloyd had visited the scene of the Irish gold discovery with Abraham Mills, F.R.S., mineralogist, and wrote in some detail to Banks in two letters dated 4 November from Cronbane, County Wicklow, nearby<sup>1</sup>. Banks replied on 13 November, the day after receiving them, and promised that Lloyd's letters should be read at the next Royal Society meeting<sup>2</sup>. Meanwhile he craved Mills's supporting geological report. On 8 November he was constrained to refuse John Leslie's plea of 15 October from Fife for support in his candidature for the chair of Natural Philosophy at St. Andrew's gently suggesting that others who actually knew the members of the University might be more useful<sup>3</sup>. On 11 November he received from John Steel at Revesby Abbey a progress report on the new water supply from his new found springs [9 Nov.] and the laying of the lead pipes and drains<sup>4</sup>. On 17 November he replied to Sir William Hamilton's letter of 10 October acknowledging the arrival of a parcel of plants from John Graeffer<sup>5</sup>, the Queen's gardener at Naples, especially the *Sterculia*. Then, almost as though stirred by the very mention of the vulcanologist Hamilton's name, the earth quaked in England on 18 November. Banks immediately set about gathering as many reports of the phenomenon as he could stimulate from his correspondents. These he summarised and in due course a paper was presented to the Royal Society and printed in the *Transactions*<sup>6</sup>. While he was engaged on this Count Rumford was aflame with a new idea for conserving coal in its domestic use and was trying to persuade Banks to apply it at Soho Square - 'He has threatened my Kitchen & I am submissive but I Seriously hope he will find some one better suited for his Practice than mine'<sup>7</sup>. Before the month was out there came a final touch to the long list of disbursements which followed his elevation to the Order of the Bath. The Lord Chamberlain's clerk, Samuel Betty, proclaimed the Knight's Collar ready to be collected and the fees for it to be £26. 14. 6.<sup>8</sup>

The month of December was notable for the frequency with which the name of Bligh appeared on Banks's desk. Early in December Elizabeth Bligh sought a position for her husband at Greenwich Hospital. [5 Dec.] How much of this notion William Bligh himself had instigated does not appear, though he was certainly intent on keeping his name fresh at Soho Square with news of his movements and adventures<sup>9</sup>. At all events on 10 December Banks wrote on Bligh's behalf to the First Lord, the 2nd Earl Spencer, soliciting the vacancy 'spontaneously', he said. This is one of those extremely rare deviations from the strict truth, it would seem, which Banks permitted himself as far as we can judge him in this way<sup>10</sup>. An

<sup>1</sup> Lloyd to Banks, 4 November 1795, DTC. 9. 311-314; DTC. 9. 315-316.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Lloyd, 13 November 1795, NLW. MS. 12415. 42. Lloyd's letters were published in *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. LXXXVI* (1): 34-45; Abraham Mills's reports were published in *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. LXXXVI* (1): 45-51; read before the Society, 17 December 1795.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Leslie, 8 November 1795, DTC. 9. 302.

<sup>4</sup> Steel to Banks, 9 November 1795, UY Banks MS.

<sup>5</sup> Banks to Hamilton, 17 November 1795, BM, Egerton MS. 2641. 157-158.

<sup>6</sup> *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. 1796, LXXXVI* (II): 353-381. Written by Edward Whitaker Gray, F.R.S., from the letters provided by Banks.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Hamilton, 17 November 1795, BM.A.MS. 2641. 157-158.

<sup>8</sup> Betty to Banks, 26 November 1795, DTC. 9. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Bligh to Banks, 5 December 1795, DTC. 9. 321-322.

<sup>10</sup> Banks to 2nd Earl Spencer, 10 December 1795, DTC. 9. 326-327.

immediate reply from the Earl on the same day [10 Dec.] said that the Greenwich vacancy was already filled but that he could promise Bligh a larger 64-gun ship at the end of his present cruise<sup>1</sup>. For this dispensation Banks was duly grateful to his Lordship and was himself sure that this advance would do much to heal Bligh's spirits wounded as they were by the unjust actions against him by the relatives of the *Bounty* mutineers<sup>2</sup>. Unaware of this brightening turn to his future Bligh meanwhile had been cruising off the Texel coast vainly seeking Admiral Duncan and was now sheltering in Yarmouth Roads where the *Calcutta* had narrowly escaped fire from a nearby timber ship. [25 Dec.] This Christmas newsletter was seasoned with a hopeful *quid pro quo*. Bligh, in passing his Pacific charts over to Aaron Arrowsmith for engraving had named an island group north of the New Hebrides after Banks<sup>3</sup>.

Another aspect of the war also intruded to emphasise the web of confidences spun from 32 Soho Square. On 16 September the Dutch garrison at the Cape of Good Hope under Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon had surrendered to a British fleet under Admiral Elphinstone. Before the month was out the Colonel had been driven to suicide by his compatriots, leaving a widow and a small sheep flock. Both were destined to come under Banks's notice. On 21 December Henry Dundas from the Board of Control submitted to Banks a long questionnaire on the Cape colony of the Dutch East India Company, its products and potential<sup>4</sup>. In the course of his reply Banks specifically noted the state of the sheep population and the presence there of the small flock of Spanish Merinos developed by Colonel Gordon. Within the next two years most of these animals were destined to sail for Port Jackson in New South Wales on board H.M.S. *Reliance*, Captain Henry Waterhouse, and H.M.S. *Supply*, Lieutenant William Kent. Here we have a first glimpse of a small asset of the war that was later to be a significant catalyst in the European colonisation of the new lands in the Southern Hemisphere.

At last, just before the end of the year on 29 December came George Noe himself to report a successful end to his Russian journey with the plants for the Empress Catherine. The interview clearly followed the pattern of numberless others, probably in the 'unarrangd regularity' of his 'little den', the study or 'small Library' which opened off the entrance hall at the foot of the staircase<sup>5</sup>. Here probably at the big desk under the long studio window Banks jotted down his notes of what Noe told him and soon after these were re-drafted into an urgent letter to James Bland Burges the same day<sup>6</sup>. Banks was now very anxious to meet Burges at 'the office that we may finish the affair' as soon as he returned from his retreat at Eltham beyond Greenwich. Three weeks passed and there was no word from Burges. In

<sup>1</sup> 2nd Earl Spencer to Banks, 10 December 1795, DTC. 9. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to 2nd Earl Spencer, [11 December 1795], DTC. 9. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Bligh to Banks, 25 December 1795, DTC. 9. 333-335.

<sup>4</sup> Bruce to Banks, 21 December 1795, SL Banks MS. A3 : 18. In his answer to the questionnaire, assessing the products of the colony, he notes '... altho the Spanish [Merino] sheep have been introduced by Colonel Gordon little expense has been incurred or trouble taken by the Settlers in spreading them'. There was time enough for this information to reach Port Jackson and have an influence on later events before Captain Waterhouse and Lieutenant Kent sailed for the Cape in late September 1796.

<sup>5</sup> MS. notes by Banks. SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 50.

<sup>6</sup> Banks to Burges, 29 December 1795, Kew B.C. 2. 130.



that irritating interval, however, there were still the felicities of the Christmas season to be attended to, especially his thanks to James Edward Smith for the fine Norfolk turkeys his wife had procured for him [3 Jan.] with sapient remarks on turkeys in general<sup>1</sup>. Captain Bligh was able [7 Jan.] from H.M.S. *Calcutta* to announce his commission to H.M.S. *Director* with Lord Spencer's permission to take with him all his officers and men to the new ship. Nevertheless he still clung to hopes of Banks's support for future appointment to Greenwich Hospital<sup>2</sup>. Problems of naval unease were never far from Soho Square and there was also the shadow of that other thorny character, Captain George Vancouver, the Camelford incident, and the arrest of Archibald Menzies yet to be set straight with the Duke of Portland as Home Secretary.

The home affairs of Lincolnshire were no less insistent than those of the nation. John Parkinson senior of Asgarby was now the steward for the Revesby and Holland estates in the place of the Benjamin Stephenson of Mareham-le-Fen, dead since the previous July. He was now assisted by James Roberts, the boy of sixteen who had set out with Banks as his servant on the *Endeavour* in 1768. They were both now somewhat concerned at the dissatisfaction of the tenants expressed during the last rent collection in December when many had thought the increase announced to them as not wholly fair. This seemed to revert to the question of whether the surveyed areas were correct and this in turn impugned the accuracy of Thomas Stone who had recently completed this task for Banks. Parkinson<sup>3</sup> raised this in his letter of 7 January and promptly Banks answered on 9 January that he would forthwith ask Stone to explain the discrepancies<sup>4</sup>. He promised justice to his tenants, especially the old, and would rectify the errors on his next visit to Revesby. There was also a call on his advice about the future of his young relative Henry Hawley at Oxford<sup>5</sup>, only son of his cousin Sir Henry Hawley, 1st bart. [6 Jan.] Young Henry hankered after the Guards but had been dissuaded by the logic of Banks's arguments and had returned for the time being to his University. Banks, however, was disturbed at this easy compliance [8 Jan.] and hoped that he was really convinced and not merely swayed by adult pressure<sup>6</sup>. There was time also to answer a very old correspondent<sup>7</sup>, Johann Ludwig Formey, F.R.S., Secretary of the Berlin Academy, [9 Jan.] whose letter of 29 November he had just received<sup>8</sup>. His reply was a polite envy of his old friend's friendship with the great ones of Europe – Voltaire, Maupertuis, D'Alembert – and a speculation that 'Prussia may stand in the breach between England and France'. From Dr. James Edward Smith he sought information about the effects of the November earthquake<sup>9</sup> in or about Norwich. [11 Jan.] While Banks was engaged in seismology John Sibthorp at thirty-eight was dying at Bath and dating his will [12 Jan.] which was so soon to become a preoccupation at Soho

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Smith, 3 January 1796, Smith MS. 1 : 92-93.

<sup>2</sup> Bligh to Banks, 7 January 1796, DTC. 10 (1). 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Parkinson to Banks, 7 January 1796, BM.A.MS. 43837. 8-9.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Parkinson, 9 January 1796, BM.A.MS. 43837. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Hawley to Banks, 6 January 1796, UY Banks MS.

<sup>6</sup> Banks to Hawley, 8 January 1796, UY Banks MS.

<sup>7</sup> Banks to Formey, [9 January 1796], Kew B.C. 3. 12; DTC. 10 (1). 5-6.

<sup>8</sup> Formey to Banks, [29 November 1796], BM.A.MS. 8098. 39-40.

<sup>9</sup> Banks to Smith, 11 January 1796, Smith MS. 1 : 94.

Square as he ensured the future of his *Flora Graeca* and a new chair in Rural Economy to be held by the Sherardian Professor of Botany at Oxford<sup>1</sup>. Problems of rural economy were indeed many and none more insistent than that of the wheat supplies, the grinding of flour and the making of bread. This then was the substance of a long technical discourse [13 Jan.] on the mechanics of stone hand-mills to Stephen Digby, ranger of Richmond Park, who had sought Banks's advice<sup>2</sup>.

All these things and very much more had occupied the dark days through December and January. There was in particular the steady work with Jonas Dryander, diverted from the *Catalogus...*, classifying the botanical gatherings from China brought more than a year before by the Macartney Embassy. This involved frequent correspondence with Sir George Leonard Staunton<sup>3</sup> as each batch was finished [23 Dec., 26 Dec. 1795; 6 Jan., 23 Jan., 24 Jan. 1796]. To all this was added the collections by Archibald Menzies on the long Vancouver voyage of 1790-1795 which had ended when the ships H.M.S. *Discovery* and H.M.S. *Chatham* anchored in the Thames on 20 and 17 October respectively. From these Banks not only received at Soho Square their fascinating new accessions to botany from the Pacific coasts of the Americas and the islands of that ocean but also the whole tangled business of another *contretemps* between the Navy and science. There was the problem of Menzies's arrest to resolve and his future to ensure at least until his journals and his collections were put into a fit state for the world to see and to use<sup>4</sup>.

None of these things could detract from the nagging irritation of a task completed but an account unpaid. Three weeks' silence from James Bland Burges in retirement at Elton was more than Banks was now prepared to allow and on 19 January he felt impelled to 'aim another Shot' in that direction<sup>5</sup>. This was a masterly discharge compounded of a just claim and an unusual display of bared feelings. It was enough to shock any civil servant into action however bruised and gout-ridden he may in fact have been. A quick exchange of letters followed<sup>6</sup> and accounts checked and cross-checked. [20, 22, 23 Jan.] These disposed of the main problems as Burges agreed to relieve Banks of further trouble and pass the matter into the obscure channels of the Foreign office for ultimate - very ultimate - settlement from the Contingency Fund<sup>7</sup>. With this assurance but clearly with his private doubts Banks at least saw that the good and faithful George Noe should not stand in want. On 4 February he paid the final amount due to Noe for salary and expenses - £56. 17. 5 - leaving Sir Joseph himself now with a total sum owing from an unconcerned Government of £162. 0. 6 and - as far as we know - no official word of thanks from any quarter. For three years the debt remained unpaid until 6 February 1799 when Mr. Thomas Bidwell sr., Chief Clerk at the Foreign Office 'took the

<sup>1</sup> Copy of the will of John Sibthorp, 11 January 1796, BM.A.MS. 33980. 49-50; DTC. 15. 294-297

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Digby, 13 January 1796, DTC. 10 (1). 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Staunton, 23, 26 December 1795; 6, 23, 24 January 1796, SL Banks MS. [BM(SC), Mf. 28].

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Duke of Portland, 3 February 1796, DTC. 10 (1). 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Banks to Burges, 19 January 1796, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 11.

<sup>6</sup> Burges to Banks, 20 January 1796; 22 January 1796; Banks to Burges, 23 January 1796, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 19-20.

<sup>7</sup> Note by Thomas Bidwell sr. in MS. volume of Foreign Office Contingency Fund accounts, now in Foreign Office Library, dated 11 February 1799.

liberty of enclosing a draft for £102 being the amount spent by Sir Joseph on His Majesty's service<sup>1</sup>. This was all that George Hammond, Burges's successor as Under-secretary, had authorised. What further shots were fired by Banks we do not know. There remains only that bare footnote to the account: 'I received the whole of the money Feb 11 1799 being exactly 3 years after I had paid it & nobody has Thankd me'<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps by then he was beyond further words. Certainly it would not be easy to advance beyond those unusual, scathing, even bitter comments to Burges three years before:

'... If I am to do all to write all to direct all & to pay all & no human being feel inclined to thank me I shall I fear in due time feel as Sulky as a measly Sow who has lost her scrubbing Post'<sup>3</sup>.

It is probable that Time, since those harsh words, had eased the original irritation, the frustration and the sense of official ingratitude. His very private form of public service had indeed been recognised by his elevation to the Privy Council on 29 March 1797, although even this was merely making *de iure* what had been for some years *de facto*. It is possible that he was more than commonly exhausted in spirit as well as in body after the harrowing months of illness during 1798, which had confined him at Spring Grove and from which he certainly had not recovered in February 1799. However, it is much more likely that in spite of his very evident infirmity he was simply dismissing the matter as of no further importance to him when so much else was immediately claiming his attention. He was in fact immersed again in the problem of plant transport by sea to distant latitudes. This centred round the fitting out of the first H.M.S. *Porpoise* to sail for Port Jackson under the future Governor of that colony, Captain Philip Gidley King. It is another case in the long series of naval problems associated with Banks's unwearying attempts to move plants of scientific and commercial value across the oceans of the world or, in a wider context, to marry Science and the Sea. From the days of the *Endeavour* and the disappointment of the *Resolution* to the present case of the *Porpoise* there had been a chain of tricky compromises to be found between naval ideas of seaworthiness and the notion of effective scientific service. In this sequence both Banks and the Navy Board had learned much not only about each other but about the inescapable problems set when something other than aids to sailing or fighting were added to one of the King's ships. The ghost of the old *Resolution* argument might seem to hover over the *Porpoise* and the difficulty of accommodating her 'garden', but in the end she was condemned and discarded as a ship of unfit design and sailing capability regardless of any contentious plant cabins on the quarter deck. Meanwhile the long, involved, and finally unsuccessful attempts of all concerned to make the *Porpoise* fit for the voyage briefly brought the experience with the little *Venus* into the calculations of what might be possible.

Captain King mentioned to Banks on 6 February 1799 that the master of the vessel 'has found it absolutely necessary to write officially to the Navy Board, and has stated the necessity for removing the plant-cabin from the quarter deck, and has

<sup>1</sup> Bidwell to Banks, 6 February 1799, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 29.

<sup>2</sup> MS. account of money spent, February 1796, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 30.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Burges, 19 January 1796, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 11.

suggested the propriety of its being placed in the 'tween decks'<sup>1</sup>. There is no rancour here for King added: 'Should the Navy Board see the necessity for this request being agreed to, I shall very much lament the disappointment that will attend your benevolent exertions and endeavours to benefit a place that owes so much to your bounty and well-directed efforts, which I fear will be frustrated in the present instance, unless you think the plants can have a chance by being placed between decks.' The closeness and goodwill with which the naval officers worked with Banks were underlined by the presence of the first Governor of the Colony, Captain Arthur Phillip, who, said King, 'is now standing by me' even as he wrote and who was ready to add the weight of his experience. Banks thus had ample time for reflection before the Navy Board did in fact write to him on 9 February with the essence of Lieutenant William Scott's strong views arising from the ship's very alarming crank behaviour on her passage round from the Downs to Portsmouth. The Board had indeed judged 'it proper the plant-room on the quarter deck should be taken away'. There was here also a note of consideration as the Board added: 'We therefore request to have your opinion on the propriety of placing it between decks, in the manner Mr. Scott has proposed'<sup>2</sup>. It was a strange chance that on the very day that he could record the closing of his account with the Foreign Office over the debt of three years' standing for the expenses of the *Venus* and her successful cargo to Russia he was now prompted by the Navy Board to recall the episode, as he answered its letter on 11 February<sup>3</sup>. He laid claim, he said, to no great experience in the management of plants between the decks of a ship and could not be answerable for the success of the measures proposed by Lieutenant Scott. Then he said: 'I once sent a cargo of plants from the Royal Gardens at Kew to St. Petersburg. They were stowed in the hold of a small vessel, and all of them arrived safe at Cronstadt, tho' they had a long and boisterous passage. I have also frequently received living plants from the East Indies that have been preserved during the long passage from thence to Europe in the cabbins of passengers. I am therefore of opinion that in case good care is taken of the plants in their intended situation between decks, and all opportunities of giving them air made use of, that the largest part of the cargo will arrive safe at its destination, unless the passage is unusually unfortunate...'. By coincidence the weights of the two floating gardens in this comparison were almost the same: on H.M.S. *Porpoise* 3 tons 3 cwt. 3 qr.; on the *Venus* 3 tons 1 cwt. 22 lb., weights large enough in these small vessels to be a potent factor in their bearing on the ship's behaviour at sea according to their placement.

In the end after another year of mishaps and delay to the acute frustration of all concerned, not least George Caley, another ship had to be found. The plant garden, however, survived well enough in its new situation to be transferred to the new *Porpoise* in which it made the voyage with moderate success only under the care of George Suttor alone in a situation between the main and the mizzen mast.

Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, the episode of the *Venus* and her plant cargo for the Empress Catherine II had played its small part in adding a modicum

<sup>1</sup> King to Banks, 6 February 1799, HRNSW. III, 533-534.

<sup>2</sup> Navy Board to Banks, 9 February 1799, HRNSW. III, 536.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Navy Board, 11 February 1799, HRNSW. III, 538-539.

of experience and guidance in the organised dispersal of plant species by man. With the advent of the new century from the mistakes and failures of the old the transport of living plants both for economic and scientific reasons quickly settled into an established and fairly smooth routine even for the longest voyage to and from the Antipodes.

The circumstances of the year 1795 surrounding the episode of the *Venus* and her diplomatic cargo may also be viewed as a revealing glimpse of the general pattern of Banks's working year during the last and most influential thirty years of his life.

#### KEY TO THE DOCUMENTS

The sources of the documents cited in this bulletin and the abbreviations used are as presented here :

- ATL Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. By registration number.
- Auckland Inst. Auckland Institute and Museum, Auckland, New Zealand. By registration number.
- BAO Birmingham Assay Office, Birmingham. Boulton and Watt Correspondence. Not numbered.
- BM British Museum, Bloomsbury, London. Additional Manuscripts and *Egerton* Manuscripts. By registration number and folio.
- BM(SC) British Museum (Natural History), South Kensington, London. Copies of the Banks 'Sheep and Wool' papers in the Sutro Library, San Francisco, California. By microfilm number, section, and frame.
- Dawson MS.* Manuscripts in the collection of the late Warren R. Dawson, Esq. By volume number and folio.
- DTC Dawson Turner Copies of the Banks Correspondence in the Botany Department, British Museum (Natural History). By volume number and folio.
- de Beer Coll.* Manuscripts in the collection of the late Sir Gavin de Beer. By serial number.
- FMC Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. By serial number.
- Fortescue MS.* Manuscripts in the collection of the late Sir John William Fortescue. Unnumbered.
- Hawley MS.* Manuscripts in the collection of Sir David Hawley, 7th Bart., Mareham-le-Fen, Lincolnshire. Unnumbered.
- Hill Coll.* Manuscripts in the collection of Sir Francis Hill now in the Lincolnshire Archives Office. By file and serial number.
- HRNSW *Historical Records of New South Wales*. Edited by Frank Murrcott Bladen, 8 vols., Sydney, 1892-1901. By volume number and page.
- IO Records of the Honourable East India Company, now in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. By volume and serial number.
- Kew B.C.* Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Surrey. Banks Correspondence. By volume and serial number.
- Lindsey* Letters and papers relating to Lincolnshire in the Lindsey County Library, Lincoln. By registration number.
- ML Mitchell Library, Library of New South Wales, Sydney. By registration number, volume, and folio number.
- NLW National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. By volume and serial number.
- Nichols L.A.* *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*. By John Nichols and John Bowyer Nichols. 8 vols., 1817-1858. By volume and page.
- PML Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Not numbered.
- RS The Royal Society of London. By file and serial number.

- Sinclair* MS. Manuscripts in the collection of the Viscount Thurso of Ulbster, Thurso, Caithness. Not numbered.
- Smith* MS. The correspondence and papers of Sir James Edward Smith in the collection of the Linnean Society of London. By volume and folio.
- SL Sutro Library, University of San Francisco, California. By alphabetical order of subject and folio.
- UY Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Banks Correspondence. Arranged in chronological order, unnumbered.

The documents presented in the ensuing pages of this bulletin were transcribed from Microfilm No. 12 (in the custody of the author) of the papers of Sir Joseph Banks in the Sutro Library, now in the precincts of the University of San Francisco. In these and all other relevant documents the editorial procedure followed is identical with that used formerly by the author in the book *His Majesty's Spanish Flock*, published in 1964. This implies that the idiosyncratic details of each document (in spelling, use of capitals, abbreviations, punctuation, etc.) are presented as closely as modern typography conveniently allows. However, in this bulletin, an exception is made in the case of all identifiable scientific names of plants. These are by convention given in italics and in the modern spelling wherever they occur.

All documents which may be attributed to Sir Joseph Banks as the author, whether in his autograph or not, are identified by an asterisk thus \*. The same symbol identifies any annotation in the autograph of Banks on any document and these are set within square brackets, thus [\* . . .].

Where words or phrases are deleted in draft or other documents these are presented in italics between obliques, thus / . . . / as far as these can be discerned and placed appropriately.

In two cases (Banks to Burges 5 May 1795 and also 6 May 1795), where separate versions of the same document occur in Banks's autograph (the draft and the final form), both are given. These are useful examples of Banks's common working method even in the small details of his correspondence. They illustrate his general care in drafting even minor letters and the relative status of the first scribbled draft compared with the version actually sent.



## THE DOCUMENTS



Sir Joseph Banks *act.* c. 51





1793 November 15 Whitehall

Her Majesty having done Sir Watkin Williams the honour to lay her commands upon him for Monday next, he has requested Lord Grenville to submit to your Majesty his humble request to be allowed to wear your Majesty's uniform. Lord Grenville at the same time takes the liberty to trouble your Majesty with the expression of Sir Watkin William's sense of your Majesty's goodness to him with respect to the Lieutenancy of Merionethshire.

Lord Grenville begs leave also humbly to request to be honoured with your Majesty's commands respecting the letter from Sir Charles Whitworth on the subject of the seeds and plants desired by the Grand Duchess from your Majesty's garden at Kew<sup>1</sup>.

1793 November 16 Windsor

Lord Grenville is to acquaint Sir Watkin Williams that I shall be very glad to see him in my uniform as also to confer on Wednesday the Lieutenancy of Merionethshire on him.

I shall order the seeds wished for the Russian Empress's garden to be collected at Kew and such plants as in the present early state of cultivation can be spared to be sent at the proper season to Petersburg. Lord Grenville will notify this to Sir Charles Whitworth<sup>2</sup>.

1795 May 4 Downing Street

I have the Honor to acquaint you that, since you was here this morning, I have had a notice from the Russia Company, that the *Jemima*, Cap<sup>t</sup> Metcalfe, will sail for [St.] Petersburg on the 15<sup>th</sup> of this month. If your arrangements for conveying the Plants can be finished by that time, I am assured that Cap<sup>t</sup> Metcalfe may safely be intrusted with the care of them.

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect truth and respect. . . .<sup>3</sup>

1795 May 5 Soho Square

\*if by telling me in your Favor of yesterday that "Capt Metcalfe may safely be intrusted with the Care of the Plants" you mean that he has Skill to take care of them during their Passage, I will readily undertake to put them on board the *Jemima* before the 15<sup>th</sup> inst, but if otherwise I by no means advise their being sent to Sea till midsummer at the soonest

if you recollect that we England Shall not for a month to Come venture to expose our most Hardy green house plants to the open air, you will probably agree with me that hot house Plants which are the principal Object of the Grand duchesses request,

<sup>1</sup> Lord Grenville to H.M. King George III, 15 November 1793, *Fortescue* MS. William Wyndham Grenville, Baron Grenville (1759-1834), Foreign Secretary 1791-1801, and first cousin to the Prime Minister, William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806).

<sup>2</sup> H.M. King George III to Lord Grenville, 16 November 1793, *Fortescue* MS.

<sup>3</sup> Burges to Banks, 4 May 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 2. Sir James Bland Burges, 1st bart. (1752-1824), Under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1789-1795 when he retired from the Foreign Office to make way for George Hammond (q.v.); later known as Sir James Lamb, after 1824.

cannot safely be venturd on the Baltic at this Season of the year unless perhaps the Captain Consents to fit up his Cabbin with Flues for the purpose of Protecting them  
I have the honor to be with the most perfect Truth & Regard. . .<sup>1</sup>

1795 May 5 [Soho Square]

\*if by telling me that "Capt Metcalfe may safely be intrusted with the care of the Plants", you mean that he has Skill to take Charge of them during their Passage I will readily undertake to put them on board the *Jemima* before the 15<sup>th</sup> inst but if otherwise, I by no means advise their being put on board until near midsummer time.

if you recollect that we in England Shall not for near a month venture to expose our most hardy green house Plants to the open air, you will probably agree with me that hothouse Plants which are the Principal object of the grand Ducheses request cannot safely be */in/*trusted to Cross the Baltic at this Season of the year except perhaps the Capt Consents to have his Cabbin made into a hothouse for the Purpose<sup>2</sup>

1795 May 5 Downing St

Give me leave without loss of time to assure you that I do not mean to vouch in any degree for the skill of Cap<sup>t</sup> Metcalfe, of whom I know nothing personally. I should on the contrary suppose that he is entirely unskilled in the management of Plants, and that it will be necessary for you to send an experienced Gardiner whenever your Cargo is put on board. Your reasoning with respect to the propriety of delay- ing the transport of the Plants till a later period in the Season strikes me as being perfectly just ; but as you must be the best judge of the period when they ought to go, I shall be obliged to you if you will let me know of the arrangement being settled, that I may be enabled immediately to obey Lord Grenville's order by applying again to the Russia Company for their recommendation of a proper vessel.

I have the Honour to be with the sincerest respect and regard. . .[\*May 6 Saw Mr Burgess & laid before him the Paper intitled Articles of Charge which he approv'd]<sup>3</sup>.

1795 May 6 Soho Square

\*in Answer to your Favor of yesterday I have the honor to inform you that I have receivd The King's Commands to Select from the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew as Complete a Collection of Exotic Plants as can possibly be Spard, which his majesty intends as a present to the grand Duchess of all the Russias

His Majesty has moreover been Pleasd to Direct that Plans & Elevations of the Principal Hothouses at Kew be immediately Prepar'd by the clerk of the Works, in order that they may be Sent with the Plants & has orderd one of his own Gardiners to Proceed to St Petersburg in the Ship which will Carry them, who will be instructed to take charge of them during the voyage & to give such information Respecting the

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 5 May 1795, PML, Banks MS.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Burges, 5 May 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 2 [draft].

<sup>3</sup> Burges to Banks, 5 May 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 3.

English mode of Culture as the Grand Duchesses Gardiners may wish to Receive from him.

in order that this Collection may be Properly Securd from the influence of Sea water during the Passage, it will be necessary that the whole of the great Cabbin of the Ship on board of which they are Embarkd, be appropriated to their accomodation ; a Proper fire place must be Constructed in it, in order that a Fire may be kept up in case chilly nights during the Passage render that precaution necessary & a bed place must be made for the Gardiner as near the Plants as Possible.

An Extra Provision of water will also be necessary, which must be taken on board as near to the time of the Ship's departure as may be, in case the weather proves very Sunny & hot a Butt a week may be necessary during the whole Passage

The Proper time for the Ship to Sail is between the 24<sup>th</sup> of June & the 24<sup>th</sup> of July ; before midsummer we are liable to Frost in the nights in this Climate & after the end of August winter approaches Fast in the high Latitude of S<sup>t</sup> Petersburgh

I have the honor to be Sir with Real Regard & Esteem  
your very Faithfull Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>. . .<sup>1</sup>

1795 May 6 [Soho Square]

\*in answer to your Favor of yesterday I have the honor to inform you that I have receivd the King's Commands to Select from the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew as Compleat a Collection of Exotic Plants as can be Possibly Spard which his Majesty intends as a Present to the Grand Duchess of all the Russias

his Majesty has moreover been pleasd to direct that Plans & Elevations of the Principal hothouses at Kew be immediately prepard by the Clerk of the Works in order that they may be Sent with the Plants & also [*that one of*] directed [*orderd*] one of his own Gardiners [*there shall*] to Proceed with the [*m*] Collection to S<sup>t</sup> Petersburgh [*as adviser &*] take Charge of them during the Voyage & [*to*] give such information concerning the Culture of them as the Grand Duchesses Gardeners may have occasion to receive when they are carried on Shore

in order that the Collection may be Properly Securd during the Passage by Sea from the dangers to which Plants are subject from the neighbourhood of Salt water, it will be necessary that the great Cabbin of the Ship on board which they are Embarkd be wholly given up for their accomodation a proper Fire Place must also be fixd in it & Fuel [*must also be*] provided that in case chilly nights during the passage should Render the Precaution necessary a fire may be kept up & a Standing bed place for the Gardiner Placd as near the Plants as possible

an extra provision of water will also be necessary which must be taken on board as near the time of the Ship's departure as possible. if the weather proves very Sunny & hot a Butt a week may be necessary

The Proper time for the Ship to Sail [*should*] is between the 24 of June & the 24<sup>th</sup> of July before midsummer we are in danger of Frosty nights in this climate & after the End of August [*autumn*] winter approaches fast in the high Latitude of S<sup>t</sup> Petersburgh<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 6 May 1795, ATL. No. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Burges, 6 May 1795, SL. Banks MS. Ru 1 : 5.

1795 May 6 [Soho Square]

\*Articles of Charge<sup>1</sup>

A Gardiner who should be taken from the Kings Establishment at Kew next week to Carry messages & Prepare himself &c at one guinea a week				
Say for 6 months . . . . .	27	..	16	.. 0
for his Extra Maintenance while at Petersburg where he must appear like a Gentleman				
Say 6 weeks at a guinea a week . . . . .	6	..	6	.. 0
Gratuity for his cloth[es] &c . . . . .	30	..	0	.. 0
for his Passage out & home & his Maintenance while on board . . . . .	21	..	0	.. 0
Gratuity to a man or boy to assist in watering Plants Removing Pots &c on board . . . . .	2	..	2	.. 0
For freight of Plants which ought to occupy the whole of the great Cabbin	52	..	10	.. 0
Cost of a Stage to place them upon in the Great Cabbin to advantage . . . . .	20	..	0	.. 0
Cost of Carrying the Plants from Kew to the Ship with a Mate to the Gardiner at Kew . . . . .	5	..	0	.. 0
<i>/Cost of Removing d<sup>o</sup> from the Ship to the Grand Duchesses Garden . . . /</i>				
Garden Tools for his use on board & when he assists at St Petersburg . . . . .	3	..	3	.. 0
	<u>178</u>	..	<u>2</u>	.. 0

## Memorandums

if the Plants are not Placd in the great Cabbin a hutch must be built to Receive them on deck which will cost near £50 but in that Case the Freight will be less & the Stage will not be wanted

outward bound they will Require an extra provision of water say a Butt a week homeward a hogshead a week

a Standing bed place for the Gardiner should be provided as near the Plants as possible

The Ship Should Sail between the 26<sup>th</sup> of June & the 24<sup>th</sup> of July

Proper Fuel must be provided to Keep a Fire in the Cabbin in Case of chilly nights while at Sea

Gratuity to Mr Brown for making Plans & Elevations of the Hothouses at

Kew . . . . .	10	..	10	.. 0
	<u>178</u>	..	<u>2</u>	.. 0
	188	..	12	.. 0

This was Exhibited to Mr Burgess May 6 1796 [*sic*] & he approvd all the charges in ink

1795 May 8 Threadneedle Street

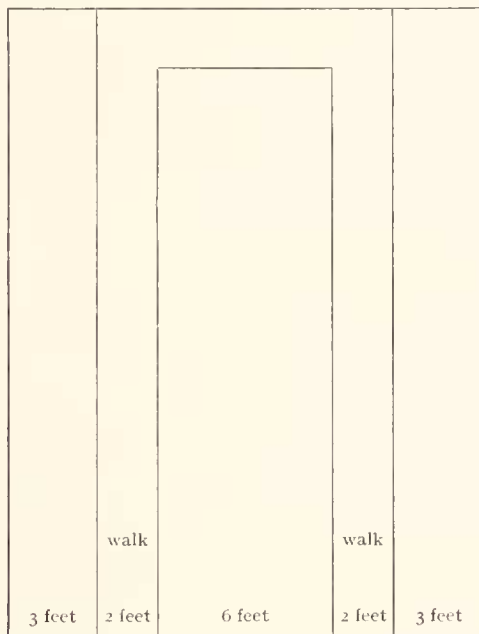
Mr Forster presents his compliments to Sr Joseph Banks, the Russia Company have as a Company no ships nor strictly speaking any fund, they lay a small duty on Importations for defraying necessary expences, & the surplus is the only sum they have the command of, which can only be disposed of by a resolution of the Council of Assistants where the proposition hinted at by Sr Joseph Banks might probably meet with a variety of opinions, & might become the subject of a discussion which perhaps it might be better not to hazard.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 6 May 1795, MS. estimates and memoranda, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 4.

<sup>2</sup> Forster to Banks, 8 May 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 35.

1795 June 14

\*22 Feet by 16 —  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch to a Foot  
Platform for the Venus's hold June 14 1795<sup>1</sup>



Leaves 244 square Feet for the Stowage  
of Plants  $16 \times 22 = 352 \times 6 = 2112$  Cubic feet of space  
53 Tons measure

1795 June 15 Soho Square

\*as I had a private intimation from Mr Forster Jun<sup>r</sup> that the Venus is the only merchant Ship likely to Sail for St Petersburg within the Limits of the Time that appears most Eligible for Sending away the Grand Duchesses Plants, I conclude you have received similar information officially from his Father the Governor of the Russia Company, if not I request you to make the Enquiry that I may be sure I am acting upon Certain grounds

I yesterday went on board the Venus, she is very Small for tho She is Rated at 100 Tons in her Freight bill, She does not measure much more than 70, her Cabbin is only 8 Feet 4 by 6 Feet 3 so that no Possible use can be made of it for our Purposes,

<sup>1</sup> Sketch plan by Sir Joseph Banks of the dimensions of the hold in the *Venus*, 14 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 41.

in her hold I can get a Platform large enough to Contain a sufficient number of Plants, but I wish to avoid that measure, for the Plants when in a Cabbin which has plenty of Light & Air, Continue healthy & Flourishing during a long voyage, in a hold they are liable if bad weather happens to be so long deprived of both the one & the other that if not Quite Killd their beauty is materially impaired & in the case of a Present you will I am sure agree with me that it is very desirable for the Object presented to be in the best Possible Condition at the moment it is Receivd.

For this Reason I am clearly of Opinion that it will be desirable to ask the Admiralty for one of the Indiamen that have been newly Equipped for their Service, if we could obtain the Calcutta Capt Bligh's Ship which now lies at Long Reach, his Experience in the Care of Plants at Sea will be of infinite use to the undertaking, & his name will add not a little to the Compliment, indeed I think it will be Compleat if the Foreman of the Royal Botanic Garden attends the Plants, as is intended, & Capt. Bligh carries them out.

in the meantime I Shall arrange myself in such a manner as will Enable me to take advantage of Either Plan, Early this morn I shall go to Kew, Set the Foreman to work & Forward the Selection &c of Plants that all may be ready in that department & that whatever the destination may be I may be ready to adopt it

I Shall be glad to hear from you on the Subject as soon as you have anything to communicate a letter by this nights Post directed to me at the Queens Lodge Windsor will find me tomorrow morning occupied with the Kings Flock & Consequently in Condition to Communicate to my Royal master anything on the subject which may be thought necessary to make him acquainted with on Wednesday my address will be Spring grove near Hounslow on Thursday Soho Square<sup>1</sup>

beleave me my dear Sir  
 with unfeignd Esteem & Regard  
 Your Faithfull Hble Servant  
 Jos: Banks

1795 June 15 Soho Square

\*as I have had a private intimation from Mr Forster Jun<sup>r</sup> that the Venus is the only merchant Ship likely to Sail for St Petersburg within the Limits of the Time that appears most Eligible for Sending away the Grand Duchesses plants I conclude that you have receivd The Same information officialy from his Father the Governor of the Russia Company if not I request you will make Enquiry that I may be sure I am acting upon Certain Grounds

I this day went on board the Venus she is very Small for tho She is rated in her Freight bills at 100 She does not measure much more than 70 Tons her Cabbin is 6 3 by 8-4 & She has only 2 Stern lights of 2-1 by 1-3 & one small Sky light so

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 15 June 1795, Auckland Inst. & Mus., B.2.

that no use can possibly be made of it for our Purpose, in her hold I can get a Platform if [?] large Enough *[for my purpose]* but I wish to avoid that measure if Possible for Plants when in [a] Cabbin Continue healthly during a Long voyage whatever the weather may be but in the hold they are liable if bad weather happens to be so long deprivd of Light & Free air that if they are not Quite Killd they lose much of their beauty which in the Case of a Present it is very desirable that the Object Presented be in the best Condition possible at the moment when it is receivd

For this Reason Sir I am clearly of opinion that it will be desirable to ask the admiralty for one of the India men that have been newly Equipped in their Service, if we could obtain the Calcutta the Ship which Capt Bligh Commands now lying in Long Reach his Experience in the Care of Plants at sea will be of great use to the undertaking & his name will add not a little to the Compliment indeed I think it will be Compleat if The Foreman of the Royal Botanic Garden attends the Plants as is intended & Capt Bligh Carries them

in the meantime I Shall arrange myself in such manner as will Enable me to take advantage of Either plan Early tomorrow I will visit Kew & Set the Foreman at work & Forward the Selection of Plants that all in that department may be ready & that whatever the destination may be I may be ready to adopt it

I Shall be glad to hear from you on the Subject as soon as you have anything to Communicate a Letter by this nights Post directed to me at the Queens Lodge windsor will find me *[occupied]* on Tuesday morn occupied with the Kings Flock consequently in condition to Communicate to my Royal Master anything on the subject it may be necessary for him to be acquainted with<sup>1</sup>

1795 June 15

Understanding that you are in want of a Vessel to carry out Plants to Petersburg and that you was fearful the Vessel you was looking at yesterday would be too shallow in the Hold being only 9 feet I took the liberty of waiting on you with a tender of a *[Vessel]* very fine roomy Vessel lying now in the River Thames and ready to proceed to Petersburg, She is 11½ feet deep which perhaps may answer you better and the Captain is a steady careful Man & will I am confident pay every attention to the safety of what is intrusted to him and will go upon very moderate Terms – Should you wish for any further Information or be inclined to Treat a Message or a few Lines will be particularly attended to...[P.S.] The Vessels name is the Charlotte Capt Sheriff 120 Tons Measurement or 160 Tons Burden 11½ feet deep lying in Addermans Chain – <sup>2</sup>

1795 June 16 10 P.M. Downing Street

I have lost no time in laying your Letter of yesterday before Lord Grenville and the Admiralty Board ; and I am sorry to be obliged to acquaint you, that I see no

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 15 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 6 [draft].

<sup>2</sup> Robertson to Banks, 15 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 44.



prospect of the Calcutta, Cap<sup>t</sup> Bligh's Ship, being possibly spared for the purpose of conveying the Plants to Petersburg. I hope you will be able to make your arrangements, so as to avail yourself of the Ship mentioned by Mr Forster, especially as notice was some time ago sent to Sir Charles Whitworth of his Majesty's intention to send the Plants and the Telescope immediately.

I have the Honor to be with the utmost truth and regard. . . [\*This Letter was not delivered at my house till past 2 O clock on the 17<sup>th</sup> as Vackeri my porter declares]<sup>1</sup>

1795 June 17 [Soho Square]

\*I did not object to the hold of the Venus as being too small for my purpose but to the holds of Ships in general as not being Long Enough What I wish for is a Cabbin large enough to hold my Cargo<sup>2</sup>

1795 June 20\*

Rec<sup>d</sup> of Sir Jos: Banks the Sum of Thirty Pounds being a gratuity Granted to me by Government for the Purpose of Furnishing me with Proper Cloths & necessaries for my Voyage to S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg<sup>3</sup>

[sgd] George Noe

1795 June 22 Kew

\*I have this morn visited the Plants intended for Russia & Set the Gardiners about putting them in order for their Voyage

The Carpenter will be ready on Thursday at 2 Aiton & myself will then be on board & order the. . . of the divisions which may be finished by noon on Friday & by the Evening tide of that day we may come on board which will be about 4 O clock the Plants may be Stowd on Saturday a m So that he may Sail if he chuses by that nights tide in Case he can joint the Present Convoy

if he Cannot I Shall Expect your directions respecting time & Obey them all I shall Say is that Plants Suffer much by being on board a Ship so that it is to be wishd that he does not move more than a day before the Convoy sails & that the Plants are not more than a day on board before lie moves<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burges to Banks, 16 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 7.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Robertson, 17 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 45.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. receipt signed by George Noe, 20 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 23. George Noe, a Württemberger, was born at Stuttgart, served as foreman-gardener at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew ca. 1790-1800, and then returned to the gardens of Charles Eugene, Duke of Württemberg.

<sup>4</sup> Banks to Forster, 22 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 36. Edward Forster jr. (1765-1849) was the youngest son of Edward Forster (1730-1812), banker, merchant, and antiquary, of Edward Forster and Sons, Russia merchants, Gracechurch Street, and the banking house Forster, Lubbock, Forster and Clarke, Threadneedle Street. Edward Forster jr. was also a governor of Guy's Hospital and a botanist; an early F.L.S. (elected 1800); treasurer, Linnaean Society, 1816; president, Linnaean Society, 1828.

1795 June 23

N<sup>o</sup> 4Sir Joseph Banks<sup>1</sup>

1795

To Edward Benbrook N<sup>o</sup> 82  
Rotherhithe Street RotherhitheFor Sundreys of Joiners work on board the Ship  
Venus Viz to Building a Plat form & Bulkhead  
in the Hold making Boxes for Plants making  
a Carb and Grating for the fore Hatch and Ladder &c

June 23	£	s	d
26 feet of Inch & $\frac{1}{2}$ Deal . . . . .	0	5	5
62 .. 12 feet Inch Deals . . . . .	6	4	0
264 feet of Quarter 3 by 6 . . . . .	3	17	0
50 feet of D <sup>o</sup> 3 by 3 . . . . .	0	8	4
102 feet of D <sup>o</sup> 3 by 2 . . . . .	0	10	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
480 feet of Inch Batton . . . . .	1	0	0
1 C of 40 <sup>d</sup> .. 1 C of 30 <sup>d</sup> .. 6 C of 20 <sup>d</sup> .. 18 C of 10 <sup>d</sup> Nails . . . . .	1	10	10
17 Day & $\frac{3}{4}$ Joiners work . . . . .	3	7	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Waterage . . . . .	0	10	2
	£17	14	2

6 Water Barrels . . . . .	3	3	0
1 Hand Pump . . . . .	0	2	6

£20 .. 19 .. 8

£21 .. 0 .. 0

1795 June 25 London\*

Rec<sup>d</sup> of Sir Joseph Banks the Sum  
of Thirty Pounds on account of the Freight of  
Certain Plants & the charge of a Passenger for which  
we have agreed at the Rate of Eighty Pounds  
from hence to St Petersburg.<sup>2</sup>

[sgd] MDuke Vickerman

1795 June 26 Admiralty Office

The next Baltic Convoy is appointed to sail from the Nore on the 7<sup>th</sup> July – being  
14 days from the sailing of the last – This information, tho' known I presume to all  
the Trade, you may as well not quote me for . . .<sup>3</sup>

[1795] June 28 [Spring Grove]

\*by the best information I can procure the next Convoy for the Baltic will Sail  
from the nore on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July I intend therefore to Send the Plants on board  
by the Evening tide of Thursday the 2<sup>nd</sup> they will arrive if I calculate right between  
9 & 10. & may Either remain all night in the Lighter or be handed in as you find  
most Convenient<sup>1</sup> Benbrook to Banks, 23 June 1795, MS. account, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 25.<sup>2</sup> Vickerman to Banks, 25 June 1795, ms. receipt signed, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 22.<sup>3</sup> Marsden to Banks, 26 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1: 46. William Marsden, F.R.S. (1754–1836),  
orientalist and numismatist, Second Secretary to the Admiralty 1795–1804; Secretary 1804–1807;  
Treasurer, Royal Society, 1802.

if the Platform is made ready on thursday Packing may begin on Friday morn at day Light & will Easily be compleated that day So that the Ship will have 3 days to join convoy at the nore Abundance of time if the wind is Fair & if it is Foul the Convoy you Know Cannot Sail

I Shall be glad of a Line by the Penny Post directed to me in Soho Square to hear if this arrangement Suits your Purpose & am. . .

To Capt [Marmaduke] Vickerman Batsons Coffee house<sup>1</sup>

\*this Letter was put into the Penny Post at Brentford before 8 in the morn of June 29 with another for M<sup>r</sup> dryander<sup>2</sup> which was duely Rec<sup>d</sup> but no answer coming in the whole of the 30<sup>th</sup> I Sent Cartlitch<sup>3</sup> on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July with a Copy of it directing him to see the Captain & get one

1795 June 30 [. . .]

Yours of the 28<sup>th</sup> I Rec<sup>d</sup> and the platform will be ready on Thursday Eve[n]ing So you may send the plants down on Thursday night or early on friday morning which you think will be the safest for them for should they have to Lay in the Lighter all night perhaps they might happen some misfortune from some other vessel get[t]ing foul of the Lighter but you can act as you think proper in the business for we shall have plenty of time to save the convoy – I shall clear on Saturday and Sail early on Sunday morning — I have wrote to the carpinter desireing him to come on board & to do any thing [that] may be wanting before the plants come along side. . .<sup>4</sup>

1795 July 2 [Kew]

Herewith I send you the Catalogue of the plants for the Arch Dutches I believe it is correct & I hope will meet your approbation, I would have sent a */better/* neater Copy but shipping the plants & other directions I have been necessitated to attend to today would not allow of it, I have added a few remarks in pencil as they */may/* struck me. The Stove plants do not run Alphabetically because I could not refrain to start off with *Strelitzia* the others do, in the List I have kept the Botany Bay plants together which I hope you will approve. In all there are upwards of 300 pots & you will perceive 226 Species.

I have the Honor to be Sir. . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Vickerman, 28 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 43.

<sup>2</sup> Jonas Dryander (1748–1810), botanist and librarian at 32 Soho Square; original fellow and librarian of the Linnaean Society of London, 1788; vice-president, Linnaean Society; compiler of *Catalogus Bibliothecae Historico-Naturalis Josephi Banks Baroneti*, 1796–1800.

<sup>3</sup> William Cartlich, clerk to Sir Joseph Banks at 32 Soho Square.

<sup>4</sup> Vickerman to Banks, 30 June 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 42.

<sup>5</sup> Aiton to Banks, 2 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 39. William Townsend Aiton (1766–1849), successor to his father William Aiton (1731–1793) as head gardener at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew in 1793; a founder and original fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society; editor of *Hortus Kewensis*, 3rd ed., 1810–1813.

1795 July 2 [Kew]

Stove Plants<sup>1</sup>

- |    |   |                 |
|----|---|-----------------|
| 1  | <i>Strelitzia reginae</i>                       |                 |
| 2  | <i>Fuchsia coccinea</i>                         |                 |
| 3  | <i>Crinum</i> [Botany Bay]                      |                 |
| 4  | <i>Polygala bracteolata</i>                     |                 |
| 5  | <i>Dracaena frerea</i>                          |                 |
| 6  | <i>marginata</i>                                |                 |
| 7  | <i>Clusia flava</i>                             |                 |
| 8  | <i>Calophyllum calaba</i>                       |                 |
| 9  | <i>Xylophylla latifolia</i>                     |                 |
| 10 | <i>Calycanthus praecox</i>                      |                 |
| 1  | <i>Euphorbia</i> [sp]                           |                 |
| †2 | <i>Pelargonium crithmifolium</i>                |                 |
| 3  | <i>glaucum</i>                                  |                 |
| 4  | <i>Erodium hymenodes</i>                        |                 |
| 5  | <i>incarnatum</i>                               |                 |
| 6  | <i>Myrtus pimenta</i>                           |                 |
| 7  | <i>Ixora coccinea</i>                           | 2 plants        |
| 8  | <i>Solanum auriculatum</i>                      |                 |
| †9 | <i>Moraea northiana</i> new species from Brazil |                 |
| 20 | <i>Solandra grandiflora</i>                     | 2 plants        |
| 21 | <i>Datura arborea</i>                           |                 |
| 2  | <i>Salvia violacea</i>                          |                 |
| 3  | <i>coccinea</i>                                 |                 |
| 4  | <i>Haemanthus multiflorus</i>                   | 2 plants        |
| 5  | <i>Chloranthus inconspicuus</i>                 |                 |
| 6  | <i>Sisyrinchium striatum</i>                    |                 |
| 7  | <i>Antirrhinum macrocarpum</i>                  |                 |
| 8  | <i>Tradescantia discolor</i>                    | 2 plants        |
| 9  | <i>Murraya exotica</i>                          |                 |
| 30 | <i>Pothos lanceolata</i>                        |                 |
| 1  | <i>Caryota wuens</i>                            |                 |
| 2  | <i>Pentapetes acerifolia</i>                    |                 |
| 3  | <i>Garcinia</i> ? [mangostana]                  |                 |
| 4  | <i>Limodorum tankervilleae</i>                  | 2 plants        |
| 5  | <i>Justicia hyssopifolia</i>                    |                 |
| 6  | <i>formosa</i>                                  | Hort. Kew incl. |
| 7  | <i>punica</i>                                   | Hort. Kew incl. |
| 8  | <i>nitida</i>                                   |                 |
| 9  | <i>Alstroemeria ligtu</i>                       |                 |
| 40 | <i>Eucomis striata</i>                          | Hort. Kew incl. |
| 1  | <i>Oxalis incarnata</i>                         |                 |
| 2  | <i>Iris</i> [sp] from China                     |                 |
| 3  | <i>Kaempferia [longifolia] rotunda</i>          | 2 plants        |
| 4  | <i>Epidendrum vanilla</i>                       |                 |
| 5  | <i>cochleatum</i>                               |                 |
| 6  | <i>Convolvulus jalapa</i>                       |                 |
| 7  | <i>Aucuba japonica</i>                          |                 |
| 8  | <i>Dorstenia contrajerva</i>                    |                 |
| 9  | <i>Hevitieria littoralis</i>                    |                 |

<sup>1</sup> Ms. catalogue of the plants sent from the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, prepared by William Townsend Aiton, 2 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 40. Names marked thus: † = species which appear on lists of plants sent from the Cape by Francis Masson, 1786-1795.

50	<i>Begonia nitida</i>	
1	<i>Brucea ferruginea</i>	2 plants
2	Lemon Grass, <i>Schoenanthum amboinicum</i> Rumphii	
3	<i>Celsia linearis</i>	
4	<i>Campanula aurea</i>	22 Pl.
5	<i>Verbena triphylla</i>	
6	<i>Adiantum reniforme</i>	
7	<i>Hydrangea hortensis</i>	2 pl.

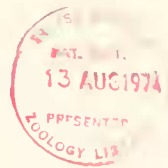
## Cape House Plants

58	<i>Adonis vesicatoria</i>	
9	<i>Anthyllis hermanniae</i>	
60	<i>cytisoides</i>	2 d°
†1	<i>Blaeria ericoides</i>	2 d°
†62	<i>Borbonia cordata</i>	2 plants
3	<i>Brunia nodiflora</i>	2 d°
4	<i>superba</i>	2 d° Hort. Kew incd.
5	<i>Cussonia thyrsiflora</i>	
6	<i>laciniata</i>	Hort. Kew incd.
7	<i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>	
†8	<i>Chironia</i> [new sp]	
9	<i>frutescens</i>	
70	<i>linoides</i>	
1	<i>baccifera</i>	
2	<i>Cliffortia trifoliata</i>	2 plants
3	<i>[orbiculata] obcordata</i>	
†4	<i>cuneata</i>	2 plants
5	<i>Cestrum parqui</i>	
6	<i>Clethra arborea</i>	3 plants
7	<i>Cistus</i> sp	
8	<i>Cytisus foliolosus</i>	
9	<i>Cluytia pulchella</i>	
80	<i>Cytisus proliferus</i>	
1	<i>Cineraria cruenta</i>	
2	<i>Curtisia faginea</i>	
3	<i>Crotolaria elegans</i>	Hort. Kew incd.
4	<i>Dais cotinifolia</i>	
5	<i>Daphne tartonraira</i>	
86	<i>Decumaria barbata</i>	
87	<i>Diosma uniflora</i>	2 plants
8	<i>[3 latifolia]? latifolia</i>	
9	<i>serrata</i>	Hort. Kew incd.
90	<i>Digitalis sceptrum</i>	
1	<i>Oenothera rosea</i>	
2	<i>Euphorbia mellifera</i>	
2	<i>Erica urceolaris</i>	3 plants
†4	<i>halicacaba</i>	3 d°
†5	<i>marifolia</i>	2 d°
6	<i>vastita</i>	
7	<i>pluknetii</i>	3 pl.
8	<i>comosa</i>	
9	<i>capitata</i>	2 d°
100	<i>parviflora</i>	2 d°
1	<i>monsoniae</i>	2 d°

†2	<i>lutea</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
3	<i>quadriflora</i>	3 d <sup>o</sup>
4	<i>ventricosa</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
5	<i>discolor</i>	
†6	<i>tubiflora</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
†7	<i>triflora</i>	3 d <sup>o</sup>
8	<i>cruenta</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
9	<i>cubica</i>	
110	<i>[gelida sp/]</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
1	<i>concinna</i>	
2	<i>persoluta</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
3	<i>baccans</i>	2 plants
†4	<i>banksii</i>	
5	<i>[albens/]</i>	
6	<i>sebana</i>	
7	<i>grandiflora</i>	
8	<i>mammosa</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
9	<i>versicolor</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
120	<i>nudiflora</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
1	<i>sessiliflora</i>	3 d <sup>o</sup>
2	<i>petiolata</i>	
†3	<i>cerinthoides</i>	3 d <sup>o</sup>
4	<i>[confrateroides/]</i>	
5	<i>patersonia</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
6	<i>taxifolia</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
7	<i>denticulata</i>	
8	<i>coccinea</i>	
9	<i>[Sp/]</i>	
†130	<i>massonia</i>	
†1	<i>Gnaphalium congestum</i> Lamarck	2 plants
2	<i>crassifolium</i>	
†3	<i>Gardenia florida</i>	
4	<i>Genista linifolia</i>	2 pl.
†5	<i>Gnidia pinifolia</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
6	<i>oppositifolia</i>	
7	<i>Gentiana viscosa</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
8	<i>[Genus ?/]</i> Unknown, not having yet flowerd	
9	<i>Halaragis cercodia</i>	
140	<i>Hypericum glandulosum</i>	
141	<i>Hermannia salvifolia</i>	2 plants
2	<i>Hydrangea hortensis</i>	
3	<i>Linum arboreum</i>	
4	<i>Laurus foetens</i>	
5	<i>Myrsine retusa</i>	
†6	<i>Menyanthes ovata</i>	
7	<i>Malva tridactylites</i>	
†8	<i>Mesembryanthemum [Sp/]</i>	
9	<i>hispidum</i>	
150	<i>linguiforme</i>	
1	<i>pugioniforme</i>	
2	<i>Oedera prolifera</i>	
†3	<i>Protea conocarpum</i>	
†4	<i>scolymus</i>	
†5	<i>[conifera/]</i>	

†6	<i>globosa</i>	
7	/sp <i>hirta</i> /	
8	<i>purpurum</i>	
9	<i>argentea</i>	
†160	<i>mellifera</i>	
†1	<i>speciosa</i>	
2	/coronacea/	
3	<i>spathulata</i>	
†4	<i>Psoralea aculeata</i>	
5	<i>bracteata</i>	
6	<i>pinnata</i>	
7	<i>Pavietaria arborea</i>	
8	<i>Phytica buxifolia</i>	
169	<i>Plectranthus fruticosus</i>	
†170	<i>Polygala heisteria</i>	
1	<i>Pelargonium tricolor</i>	3 plants
2	<i>tenuifolium</i>	2 d°
3	<i>crispum</i>	
4	<i>apiifolium</i>	2 d°
5	<i>extipulatum</i>	
6	<i>fragrans</i>	2 d°
7	<i>Rosa semperflorens</i>	Curtis magaz.
†8	<i>Royena myrtifolia</i>	
9	<i>Rhamnus prinoides</i>	
180	<i>Salvia formosa</i>	2 d°
1	<i>Struthiola brevifolia</i>	2 d°
2	<i>Solanum marginatum</i>	2 d°
3	<i>Schotia speciosa</i>	
4	/Selinum arboreum/ An umbelliferous arborescent plant from Madeira	
5	<i>Sophora biflora</i>	
†6	<i>capensis</i>	
7	<i>Teucrium betonicum</i>	3 d°
8	<i>Heranthemum proliferum</i>	
9	<i>Banksia serrata</i>	
190	<i>dentata</i>	
1	<i>gibbosa</i> , Smith	2 d°
2	/Bilardera/ <i>Billardiera scandens</i> , Smith	3 d°
3	[missing number]	
4	<i>Dillenia humilis</i> Hort. Kew incl.	2 plants
5	<i>Dodonaea</i> /sp/	
5	<i>Dodonaea</i> /sp/	
6	<i>Ficus</i> /sp/	
7	<i>Glycine bimaculata</i> Curtis magaz.	2 d°
198	<i>Glycine rubicunda</i> Curtis magaz.	3 plants
†9	<i>Indigofera</i> /sp/	
200	<i>Metrodideros</i> /sp/	2 d°
1	<i>Metrosideros</i> /sp ?/	
2	<i>citrina</i> Curtis magaz.	2 d°
3	/piperita/	
4	/sp ?/	
5	/sp ?/	
†6	<i>Mimosa suaveolens</i> Smith	2 plants
7	/suaveolens/	2 d°
8	<i>myrtifolia</i> Smith	2 d°

9	<i>verticillata</i>	2 d <sup>o</sup>
210	<i>Opercularia aspera</i>	
1	<i>Phormium tenax</i>	
2	Plank Tree, a new species of <i>Genista</i>	
3	<i>Zamia</i> [sp ?]	
4	<i>Philadelphus</i> [sp/]	/2 d <sup>o</sup> /
5	<i>floribundus</i>	
6	<i>aromaticus</i>	
7	<i>scoparius myrtfolius</i>	
8	<i>Pultenaea daphnoides</i> Smith	2 plants
9	<i>Platylobium formosum</i> Smith	2 plants
220	<i>Sophora microphylla</i>	
1	Genus ?	
2	Genus ?	
3	Genus ?	
4	Genus ?	unknown plants, not having yet flowered
5	Genus ?	
226	Genus ?/	



[1795] May - July<sup>1</sup> [Soho Square]

May 8.

\*Visited Mr Forster Jun<sup>r</sup> & Consulted him on the subject of the Present in order to get matters forward he undertook to speak to his Father & desire him to Recommend another Ship to Mr Burgess

I proposed that the Company should pay the Freight of the Plants & the Passage of the Gardener but my Proposal did not seem to make the same impression as it would have done on a director of the E. I Company - The Present is Conciliatory & the Company ought to make themselves Sharers in the Compliment by Sending it out at their expence but they have not the Spirit of a - - - [sic]

/May 8/

Visited Mr Raikes<sup>2</sup> who seemd to Feel as Mr Forster did about the Companies engaging in the expence of £60 - he said that when he visited Russia he did not Sail till the 10<sup>th</sup> of June & that he Experienced some very Cold nights in the north sea but that as soon as he passd the Sound the heat was excessive & uninterrupted he informed me that the Ship in which the Plants are embarkd will not proceed farther than Cronstadt & that the Plants must be then put on board a galliot & sent to Petersburg about 20 miles a Galliot he says is a Roomy vessel with wide Hatches & plenty of hold but no Cabbin Conveniences The Grand Duchesses Garden is at Paveleffski 26 versts from St Petersburg he believes wholly by Land

<sup>1</sup> Autograph MS. diary notes by Sir Joseph Banks, May - July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 33-34.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Raikes (1741-1813), director, Bank of England, 1797; London merchant; member of the Russia Company; personal friend of William Pitt the younger; father of Thomas Raikes (1777-1848), dandy and diarist, partner in his father's firm.



May 9.

I told Mr Forster that the Hint I gave respecting the Russia Company paying the Freight of the Plants was not intended as a measure to save the Expence to the King it was merely a suggestion whether the Company might not chuse to make themselves a party in a measure which it was Expected to Prove Conciliatory to the Empress & that whether or not they chose to do so it was a matter of the most Thorough indifference to the King's interest & to me.

June 2. the King approv'd of Mr Aitons nomination of [George] Noe to go with the Plants his Salary should therefore Commence from the beginning of this week Sunday May 31.

June 11. Mr Forster had left a paper at Soho Square which I met with this Morn informing me that the Venus would be the only Ship likely to Sail about the time that will suit

I wrote to him immediately Stating that I would go on board the Venus on Sunday about 3 if it suited the Captain or his mate

June 14. Visited the Venus She is very Small indeed measuring only 70 Tons her Cabbin 8 Feet 4 by 6-3 & 5-6 high 2 Stern Lights 2-1 by 1-3 & one Small Skylight in her hold a Platform might be Commodiously laid 22 Feet by 17 & 6 feet high or more if necessary with a main hatch way of 8 feet by 5-4 & a small fire hatch way over it but no possibility of any Scuttles through the Sides

The Captain asks ten guineas for a Passenger & says that his Ship will hold from £150 to 200 freight he Cannot undertake to find water Cask for the Plants.

June 18 Saw the Capt & agreed for the Freight of the Plants the Gardener & his maintenance at £80 - The Capt Engaging for all due assistance & to take water Cask freight free & to fill them at Elsinore Mess Hamilton & Towry assisted me very much £100 was asked for freight & ten guineas for the Passenger they told me that the Real value of the Room I am to occupy is £40 but advised me to offer £50 & ten guineas for the Passenger none of the Russia Company would help me they turn'd their backs both Forster & Raikes

19. Went on board to Clinch the bargain met Mr Benbrook Carpenter N<sup>o</sup> 82 Redriff Street recommended by Mr Hamilton who agreed to build the Platform He is recommended as an honest man so I did not attempt a bargain he is to have it Laid by Thursday at 2 O clock saw Mr Burgess who approv'd of what I have done

22 Visited Kew & Found all Going on well orderd all to be double potted

24 Visited Kew again the larger pots of 12 inches over with their Plants weigh about 30 the Smaller one of 9½ about 20.

of the larger ones there are 103 = lb 3090

of the Smaller . . . . 184 = lb 3680

Total Weight. lb 6770

being 3 Tons 1 Quarter 22 lb

25 Visited the Venus found the Platform in part laid but the Convoy Saild it is Probable the next will Sail in about 12 or 14 days Mr Aiton & Noe went with me they approve the Platform much

27 Rec<sup>d</sup> from Mr [William] M[arsden] notice that Convoy would Sail on the  
7<sup>th</sup> July Q. V.

29 Wrote to the Capt Q. V.

July 2 Rec<sup>d</sup> from Mr Aiton the Catalogue Q. V.

3 Wrote to Sir Ch<sup>s</sup> Whitworth Q. V.

July 4 deliverd Noes instructions & visited the Plants which were partly Stowd the  
place in which they are appears to answer admirably & the Carpenter has fitted it  
up with much Economy & neatness

our pots are of two Sizes 12 inches wide weight about lb 30  
9½ d<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> . . . . lb 20

[1795 n.d.] [Soho Square]

\*The Plants to be brought home will be Siberian Perennial & Trees they will travel  
more safely in a box packd with spagnum than in a growing State

Passenger at Ten guineas Cannot Cost less in Victuals & Drink  
than 3<sup>s</sup> a day Say a guinea a week Call 3 weeks a medium  
passage

Cap <sup>t</sup> Gains by Each Passenger . . . . .	£7 .. 7 .. 0
Call the Plants 6 Passengers or . . . . .	£44 .. 2 .. 0
the Gardiner one Passenger . . . . .	-7 .. 7 .. 0
Total . . . . .	51 .. 9 .. 0

Did he Ever Clear £50 by Passengers in a voyage

offer for Cabbin . . . . .	52 .. 10 .. 0
for Gardiner . . . . .	10 .. 10 .. 0
	<u>63 .. 0 .. 0</u>

Mr Dryander thinks 4 passengers a great average

for 4 Passengers . . . . .	42 .. 0 .. 0
deduct for their maintenance . . . . .	12 .. 12 .. 0
Gain of 4 Passengers . . . . .	<u>29 .. 8 .. 0</u>

if he puts too great a Value on his Personal accomodation  
we will give him a Canvas berth in the Cabbin<sup>1</sup>

1795 July 4 [Soho Square]

In obedience to the King's commands, I enclose to you a list of the plants embarked  
on board the Venus as a present from His Majesty to the Grand Dutchess of all the  
Russias, with the following remarks upon them, & the manner in which they are  
sent, in order to enable you to judge of the care that has been taken on the part of  
our Most Gracious Sovereign to render the present acceptable to her Imperial  
Highness & to point out to you such directions concerning their reception by Sir  
Cha<sup>s</sup> Whitworth at St. Petersburg as seem to me proper to be given. -

As the Master of the Russia Company represented to you, Sir, that the Venus  
was the only Vessel likely to sail from the port of London to St Petersburg during  
the proper season for transporting tender plants, it becomes unavoidably necessary

<sup>1</sup> Autograph MS. notes in pencil by Sir Joseph Banks, n.d. but 1795. SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 32a.

to make use of her, tho' very small & by no means convenient. The whole stowage of her centre where alone a proper draught of air could be procured, amounting to 53 Tons was therefore secured, & a proper platform built for receiving the Plants; on this platform 226 species of Plants, with the duplicates of those that are difficult to preserve, are stowed; & this is the whole number it can contain. The Plants are all double potted a measure found by experience very useful in preserving the moisture of the soil: but they do not on that account take up more room, as their heads still occupy much more space than the pots they are placed in. —

As it has been found impossible to obey Her Imperial Highnesses commands respecting South Sea Plants, it is necessary I should inform you that Capt. Bligh's order when he went to Otaheite to bring the Bread Fruit to our West Indian Islands by no means permitted him to take on board any plants during his stay in the East but such as are useful; these he was ordered to deposit in the West Indies, except a very few individuals for Kew Gardens; & to bring back to England a Cargo of West Indian plants from the Royal Botanic Gardens at St Vincent's, & the public Garden at Jamaica. —

Of these he brought home a large collection: but of Bread Fruit Trees only 6, two of which were sent by His Majesties Gracious orders to Sierra Leone, & unfortunately arrived while that Colony was in possession of the French marauders, who took it last autumn: two have since died, & two only remain, one of which is destined for Sierra Leone, the other must be kept in hopes of its being increased; & if that fortunately should hereafter be done, her Imperial Highness will, whenever she thinks fit to ask for it, be furnished with whatever number can be spared.

The principal objects attended to in selecting the plants, has been to chuse such as produce beautiful Flowers, & are curious to a Botanist from the uncommon structure of their fructification or extremely rare; at the head of the list you will find the *Strelitzia reginae* which on account of the difficulty of increasing it is here considered as one of the most rare, & certainly is one of the most beautiful Plants in Europe. I know of but one plant of it that has lately been procured by purchase, which was imported from Holland last year, & this with money originally paid & charges of importation, is said to have cost the proprietor Forty Pounds Sterling. A coloured Copy of the Engraving of this plant published in the *Hortus Kewensis*, another of the *Limodorum tankervillea*, & a few drawings & coloured Engravings belonging to a work lately began intended for the publication of the Rare Plants in Kew Gardens, are by His Majesties permission sent with the Collection, in order that her Imperial Highness may be enabled to form an idea of what is to be expected when these plants shall hereafter flower in her Garden. —

Much has been said by all who have visited New Zealand on the prodigious strength of the fibres of the *Phormium tenax*, usually called New Zealand Flax; I have seen a Fishing Seine more than a hundred fathoms long entirely made of its leaves, divided into narrow Ribbons without any twisting: in the box with the drawing a small bundle of this Flax manufactured by the Indians is sent, it is part of what I procured when I visited New Zealand in 1769. In 26 years keeping it must have lost much of its original strength, but it is still very tough: as this Plant which is brought from a climate much resembling the South of France or Portugal may certainly be

cultivated in some part of the extensive dominions of Russia, & possibly in a Country where Hemp is a staple, become an article of commerce, His Majesty was pleased to order that one of them should be added to the Dutchesses Collection. –

*Brucaea ferruginea* which was found by M<sup>r</sup> Bruce in Abyssinia, & is spoken of by him as a Sovereign remedy for the Dysentery, is also sent, in hopes it may in Dominions fitted for its culture become a blessing to the human species, under the influence of an Empress who has proved herself a continual friend to humanity, & whose reign will hereafter be recorded as more eminent for the happiness of her subjects, than for the brilliant victories she has obtained, owing to the enthusiasm raised in the breasts of her soldiers by the love of their Empress & of their Country, made dear to them by her prudent & wise administration of a system calculated by her to insure the prosperity of her dominions & the happiness of her people. –

In order that the grand Dutchesess may, if her Royal Highness shall hereafter chuse to patronize the science of Horticulture, know in what manner the Royal Gardens at Kew are managed, the King was pleased to command that his Clerk of the works should prepare drawings of the two kinds of Houses used there for the preservation of Exotic Plants, & that they should be sent with the Collection, which has accordingly been done: the one is called a Stove, in it the Plants of the Tropical Climates are cultivated, the other a Cape House in which Plants that cannot sustain a cold quite so low as the point of congelation of water are kept in the cold season.

In both these houses I am inclined to believe that plants naturally tender will succeed better in the climate of Russia than in that of England: we are not at all afraid of frost here, we can always proportion the heat of our fires in such a manner as to insure a proper temperature: last winter we had the Thermometer several degrees below Zero without suffering any injury in the houses, it is cloudy damp weather which hurts us, & Russia, if I am well informed, is much less subject to such weather than England.

Geo. Noe, who accompanies the Plants, is a German: he has been foreman of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew ever since the last foreman left them to take charge of the public Botanic Garden at Cambridge, of which he is now the director: his history is somewhat singular, he was educated at Stutgard, & sent some years ago by the Duke Charles Eugene of Wurtemberg to finish his Horticultural studies here under the late M<sup>r</sup> Aiton; where owing, no doubt, to the rapid succession of Sovereigns which that house has unfortunately in the last two years sustained, he found himself at last forgot, & could procure no kind of assistance from the person who was ordered to take care of him. The elder M<sup>r</sup> Aiton at that time finding Noe worthy of his protection, continued nevertheless to instruct him, as his Son has done since his death, so that he is now capable of undertaking any charge in the line of his profession he may be able to procure. I thought myself lucky in obtaining him, because his German is precisely the same as that of Her Imperial Highness, & he is sure therefore to be completely understood, if ever she does him the honour to command from him any kind of explanation concerning his mission.

His pay for his maintenance at S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg you know, Sir, is fixed at two Guineas a week; of that I have advanced him, as I guess, about 4 Guineas, which makes the sum he receives as great as at present I think it prudent to trust him with:

this advance will prove more or less according to the length of his passage. I conclude, Sir that you will request Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Whitworth to supply him with such further moneys as he may have occasion for on that account, I have furnished him with a Copy of his account with me, & ordered him to exhibit to Sir Charles, when required, in case the Grand Dutchess should [wish] to engage him : he has the King's permission to quit Kew, if otherwise Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> will no doubt be requested to pay for his passage to England, after he has staid as long as in Sir Charles' opinion is necessary to fulfil the object of his mission.

The freight of the plants & the cost of Noe's passage amount together to the sum of £80; in order to encourage the Capt., & in conformity to the usual custom of paying passage money in advance, I have paid him £30 on account : but as it is not customary to pay the whole freight till the goods are actually delivered, & as the Capt. will have an additional inducement to pay attention to his charge by having money to receive from the person to whom he is deliver it up, it will be necessary that sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Whitworth should pay what will be due at the time of arrival, amounting to £50 with primage average &c., according to mercantile custom, which may come to £4 or 5 more. —

I am Sir &c. &c. &c...<sup>1</sup>

1795 July 4<sup>2</sup>

\*Receivd this day of Sir Jos : Banks

The Sum of thirteen guineas on the following account

for wages due this day . . . . . £5 .. 5 .. 0

advance on account of wages to be due. 6 .. 6 .. 0

for gratuities to the Sailors of which

I am to keep an account . . . . . 2 .. 2 .. 0

13 .. 13 .. 0

[sgd] George Noe

1795 July 4 [Soho Square]

\*Copy of the paper given to [George] Noe July 4<sup>th</sup> for Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Whitworths information<sup>3</sup>

1795

May 30. Geo Noe was Engagd to take care of *[the]* a Collection of Plants sent by his Majesty to the Grand duchess during their voyage, to deliver them to Sir Cha<sup>s</sup> Whitworth at St Petersburg & to give such instructions concerning their Culture to her imperial Highness Gardiners as they Shall chuse to Receive

his Subsistence during this Employ is Fixd at a Guinea a week during his Stay in England & his Passages outward & homeward bound & 2 Guineas a week during his Residence in Russia on H.M. account

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 4 July 1795, DTC. 9. 221–226; autograph MS. R. S. *Misc.* MS. 6. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Noe to Banks, 4 July 1795, MS. receipt signed. SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 21.

<sup>3</sup> Banks to Whitworth, 4 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 38.

July 4 Paid him 5 weeks subsistance due this day £5 .. 5 .. 0  
 advanced to him on account of d<sup>o</sup>. . . . 5 .. 5 .. 0  
*/Gave him also for Gratuities to such Sailors  
 as assist him in the Care of his Charge 2 .. 2 .. 0/*

[1795] July 4 [Soho Square]

\*I take the Liberty */in Confidence/* For your information in case the Messenger dispatchd from the office Should not */arrive/* Reach Petersburgh till after the Ship which brings the Kings Present of Plants for the Grand Duchess has arrivd to Enclose you in Confidence a Copy of the Letter which I have written to the Foreign department Explanatory of the Transaction I Should have Enclosed a Copy of the List of Plants had there been time to make it out but as Gardener is Furnished with one you will not be at all at a Loss for want of it

I have only to Request that you will keep */this/* the */Communication Secret/* means by which this Communication Came to your hands */a Secret till/Secret/* Quiet. The Letter from the office will Certainly arrive in due Course so that you may in the mean time make such use as you See proper of the Contents for making the Present acceptable & Conciliating the Good will of the Grand Duchess towards our Court<sup>1</sup>

[1795] July 4 [Soho Square]

\*instructions for George Noe Foreman of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew<sup>2</sup>

The King having intrusted you with the Care of a Collection of Plants Sent by his Majesty as a Present to the Grand Duchess of all the Russias, You are to take Charge of the Said Collection as soon as it is Sent */from Kew/* by M<sup>r</sup> Aiton from the Royal Gardens & Proceed with it to the Ship Venus, on board of which */it is/* the Plants are to be Embarkd & where a Passage is Provided for you

as soon as you arrive at the Ship, you are to Assist in Placing the Plants properly on */board/* the Platform Provided for their Reception, & attend the Carpenter Employd to Fix them to See that he does his business in Such a manner that there may be no danger of their being Shaken out of their Places by the motion of the Ship at Sea, & yet that Each */Plant/* Pot Containing a Plant may Easily be removd from one Part of the Platform to another in case it is requisite on the Passage to */Shift/* alter the Places of any of them ; as soon as the Plants are Stowd you are to */Embar/* take your Station on board the Ship & by no means to Leave */the Ship/* her till her arrival at S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg

in Stowing the Plants you are to take Especial [care] as far as your Judgment will Enable you to Place such Plants in the */Shady/* darker Parts of the Platform, as will

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Noe, 4 July [1795], SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 37.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Whitworth, 4 July [1795], SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 48.

best bear the want of Light & from time to time during the Voyage/You are to attend to this Circumstance &/([Stet]) if any Plant Shall have sufferd from the Closeness of the Place where it is Stowd, you are to change it into a more airy one & to Place in its Stead some Plant That has been least incommoded by the Closeness of the Ship

during the Whole of your Voyage you are to visit the Plants as often as Possible & to Spend as much time among them as you can, watering those that Require water & attending above all to the Effect the close air of the Ship will produce upon them & you are Continually to remind the Captain, that as air & Light are Essential to the well being of your Charge, the more the hatchways are kept open over the Platform the better Condition the Plants will be in when they arrive at their destination ; in Fine weather there is no doubt that all the Hatchways may be kept open *[left]* Provided their Coverings are placd to windward of them to ward off the *[Splash]* Spray of the Sea *[that may accidentally Come on board]* & except in *[Case of]* an Actual Storm it is not likely that it will *[in]* under any *[case]* circumstances be necessary to Shut them all up at the Same time

in Case by Shipping a Sea, or by the influence of the Salt Sparay with which the air is always *[chargd]* filld when the waves are turnd over by the wind into what Seamen Call White Caps, the leaves of any of the Plants become Salt, which is Easily known by the taste when the tongue is applied to them, you must as soon as possible wash them Abundantly with the Rose of your watering Pot, which will dissolve the Salt *[& save the P]* & carry it into the Soil below ; the leaves of all the *[whole]* Plants Should be Sprinkled every 3<sup>d</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> day lest Salt Should have got upon them without being Observd

When the Ship Comes to an anchor at Elsinore or Elsewhere you are to Remind the Captain to Fill all your Empty water Casks, which he has agreed to do, with the best Fresh water that can be procurd & you are afterwards to use the new water in preference *[to the Thames water]* for watering & the Thames water for Sprinkling the Plants

as soon as you arrive at St Petersburg you are to wait upon Sir *[Robt]* Cha<sup>s</sup>/Whitworth/*[stet]* his Britanic majesties *[ambassador]* Envoy Extraordinary there & report to him the State *[in which]* of your Plants, *[are]* he will give you orders Concerning their future destination & your own Conduct which orders you are in all Cases implicitly to Obey during the whole of your Stay in Russia on the King's account, it is Probable that he will detain you till the Plants have been deliverd to the Person appointed by the Grand Duchess to Receive them, & till you have fully instructed her *[Royal]* Imperial Highness's Gardiners in the mode of Cultivating them usd in the Royal Gardens at Kew, & in case it Shall be her *[Royal]* Imperial highness's Pleasure to Retain you in her Service you have the King's Permission to *[engage yourself]* Enter into it

at all times when you have an opportunity you are to write to me & tell me in what State your Plants are *[in]* & in what manner the Master of the Ship has behavd himself respecting them & you & this you are more particularly to do at the times of your Sailing from England your arrival at Elsinore & your Sailing from thence & your Arival at *[Russia]* St Petersburg & the delivery of your Plants to the Grand Duchesses agent

1795 July 7 11 P.M. Downing Street

I have the pleasure to tell you that your Letter has met with great approbation. It has however been thought right that a Copy of it should be sent by the vessel which conveys the Plants, if it is not yet sailed, and that a Duplicate should go by the Messenger who probably will be dispatched soon. I fear we shall be too late for the Ship, and I do not well know how to get at this circumstance. If you could devise means to ascertain this, and whether a Letter sent tomorrow can reach the vessel, you will greatly add to the many favours you have already conferred on My Dear Sir your sincerely faithfull and most obed<sup>t</sup> Servant. . .<sup>1</sup>

1795 July 11 Rotherhithe

I Rec<sup>d</sup> Your Draught this Morning for which and Your Aprobation of the Business I return You My most gratefull Thanks and am and shall ever be Happy to be Sir. . .<sup>2</sup>

1795 July 11

Rec<sup>d</sup> July 11<sup>th</sup> 1795 the Sum of twenty One

Pounds for Joiners Work on board the  
Ship Venus by me<sup>3</sup>

[sgd] E Benbrook

£21. 0. 0

1795 July 13 'Venus'

According to command of Yours, to acquaint You of our departure from England, I am obliged to do it a day or two sooner as I am not sure of having another/opportunity. We arrievd at the Nore on the 8<sup>th</sup> but are obliged to wait for a Convoy till the 14<sup>th</sup> of July. and perhaps not then if the wind does not turn out more favourable. The name of the Convoy is Daedalus of 32 Guns, and an nice little frigate. The plants are at present in excellent order ; but I had at first a good deal of trouble to Keep the damp from them, as the[y] came so very Weet [sic] on board the ship, but since our sailing from London which it was on the 6<sup>th</sup> inst. I brought them in very good order as I could admit more air.

The Captain and Crew behave with a great deal of Kindness to me. I am Sir with the greatest respect. . .<sup>4</sup>

1795 July 25 Elseneur

I have the pleasure to inform You that we arrievd at Elsinour on the 25<sup>th</sup> inst. about 2 o Clock in the afternoon, and are going to Sail the Same evening as we have such fair wind, The weather was in general very favourable to the state of my charge excepting 3 or 4 nights where we had high Sea and rain, and then only I kept the hatch ways shed, The plants were all in as good order as when I brought them first on board the ship, except — The *Struthiola previfolia* [*brevifolia*] *Erica quadriflora*,

<sup>1</sup> Burges to Banks, 7 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 8.

<sup>2</sup> Benbrook to Banks, 11 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 24.

<sup>3</sup> Benbrook to Banks, 11 July 1795, MS. rece ipt signed, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 25.

<sup>4</sup> Noe to Banks, 13 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 14.



and *Prunus superba* both a little Sick. I filled 3 of my watter casks with fresh watter, The Captain behaves with a great deal of Kindness to me and gives me all the assistance I desire, such as to help to move the plants on deck, which I do as often as possible and as many as I can well store I am Sir with the greatest respect...<sup>1</sup>

1795 July 30 St Petersburg

Her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess of Russia being informed of the complacent part you took in chusing and forwarding to her the compleat and valuable Collection of Exotic plants which His Majesty was pleased to Send her as a present, and which She has received in as good a condition, as it is possible to desire, has commanded me to transmitt to you the full Sense Her Imperial Highness entertains of your endeavours to Serve and oblige her, and to assure you, Sir, of the esteem which your known abilities, Superior Knowledge and Courteous C[h]aracter inspire her with.

I have the honour to be Sir...<sup>2</sup>

[1795] August 8 St: Petersburg

It is with pleasure I acquaint You of our arrieval at St. Petersburg where I wated [*I wated*] on his Excellency Sir Charles [Whitworth] according to comand. His Excellency ordered the plants to the Imperial Garden, till Such time as he had her Imperial highness acquainted of their arrieval, on the 7<sup>th</sup> I had orders to go with the plants to her Imperial Highness Seat about 20 miles from Petersburg, where I arrievd at 12 o'clock at night and was Sent for daily by her Highness, to acquaint Her of the state of my plants, and in the morning, She came at 6 o'clock, to see them, in the afternoon the Grand Duke and all his Court came to See them and they was all very well pleased with them.

It is with pleasure I informe You that I brought the plants in very good order, I loosed 3 of them and 4 are rather Sick, but the rest look as well as if the[y] had been at Kew, She had a house built for the reception of the plants but a very poor one, I am making such alteration on it as can be made at present, till Such [time as] they can built a house after the plans lay'd by.

The Grand Duches[s] will want me for a few weeks to Set all Her plants in order, who want it very much.

I am Sir with the greatest respect...<sup>3</sup>

[Received by Banks, 15 December 1795]

[1795 September 12] [Revesby Abbey]

\*I beg leave to Request of you that [you] will do me The honor to Return my most gratefull thanks to her Imperial highness the Grand Duchess of Russia for the honor of her gracious approbation of the manner in which I have executed the Commands

<sup>1</sup> Noe to Banks, 25 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 15.

<sup>2</sup> Plescheyeff to Banks, 30 July 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 17. Sergius Plescheyeff, Captain with the rank of General-Major in the Fleet of Her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, Knight of the Order of St. George 4th class.

<sup>3</sup> Noe to Banks, 8 August [1795], SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 16.

receivd from my Royal Master here & to you Sir I beg to make my acknowledgement for the obliging manner in which you were pleasd to Communicate to me her Imperial highnesses Commands

That her Imperial highness Should Receive the Collection with Pleasure is I am confident a matter of infinite Satisfaction to my King & I am also confident that if at any time hereafter her I.H. wishes for any addition to the Collection it will Readily be sent over as I well Know that the delay which took place on the Late Occasion originated Solely in his majesties ministers not knowing how to manage the detail of the Transport of the Plants

not having heard of the Gardiner who attended them to Russia since his departure from Elsinore I am in some degree anxious lest he should be ill if that Should be the Case you will much oblige me by giving me a Line to acquaint me with the circumstances of his situation<sup>1</sup>

1795 September 13

\*I conclude you have long ago heard that our Cargo of Plants Arrivd in good order at Petersburg, I this day receivd a Letter signd Sergius Plescheyeff & dated St Petersburg July 30 in which I am told that they Came in "as good a Condition as it possible to desire" & which conveys to me at the same time a liansome Compliment from the grand Duchess which greatly overpays the Little Trouble I had in arranging the business

now as I wish to Shew that I feel a due sense of the honor of having been noticed by her Imperial Highness I wish to answer this Letter but as I do not Know Either the Rank of my Correspondent or the Station he holds it is impossible I can address my Letter to him according to the Customary Etiquette

May I therefore trouble you to send me the necessary information & also request that I may be allowd to Forward my Letter through your office, it cannot be a matter of the Least moment at what Period my answer arrives in Russia, Provided it bears an Early date & it is Known that the means by which it is sent would not have brought it sooner

I tremble at the Idea of my Letter having miscarried as in that case I should have incurrd the censure of impoliteness without deserving it, it came by the Penny Post with a penny to pay adressd to me at London so that if the directors of the Penny Post had not been so good as to Enquire where I livd it would have been open'd & destroyd because they could not tell where Mr Plescheyeff resided

believe me my dear Sir with infinite Esteem & Regard  
most Faithfully yours...<sup>2</sup>

1795 October 3 Downing Street

It is not from want of attention towards you that I have delayed 'till now to answer your Letter, but solely from not having sooner been enabled to procure for you the information you wanted. This morning, Count Woronzow sent me the inclosed Paper, which I suppose contains all that can be necessary for you.

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Plescheyeff, [12 September 1795], SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 17.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Burges, 13 September 1795, ATL. No. 112.

I take it for granted you will soon be in town. I shall not fail to take an early opportunity of paying my respects to you ; as there is nothing which I more sincerely wish than to afford you proofs of the truth and respect with which I have the Honour to be...<sup>1</sup>

[1795] October 6

Monsieur de Plestchéef  
 Captain du Rang de General-Major  
 au Service de la Flotte de S. M. I. de toutes  
 les Russies & Chevalier de l'ordre de S<sup>t</sup> George  
 de la 1<sup>e</sup> Classe.

\*Correspondence & information respecting the Voyage &  
 the Reception of the Plants<sup>2</sup>

1795

His Excellency Sir Charles Whitworth

D<sup>r</sup> to Shairps & C<sup>o</sup><sup>3</sup>

For Freight & Port charges of			
Plants in p <sup>r</sup> Capt <sup>a</sup> Vickerman . . . . .			£60 . . .
Labourers, charges &			
Carriage . . . . .	R <sup>os</sup>	11. 45:	
Customs on a Telescope			
value £500 . . . . .		60. -	
on Some Empty Potts . . . . .		: 42	
Town dues. 2 p <sup>r</sup> Cent . . . . .		1: 20	
Inspectors, & Expences			
at the Custom House. . . . .		25. -	
	R <sup>o</sup>	98. 7	
			11 : 13 -
		£ Ster <sup>l</sup> <sup>g</sup> :	71 : 13 -

1795 October 24 Eltham

Though I have been so fortunate as to make my escape from official drudgery, and am once more become a free agent, I still am liable for some time to what the Lawyers call Remanets. On one of these I feel it right to give you a little trouble. The inclosed is an account which I have received from Sir Charles Whitworth, for the amount of which he has drawn upon me. If you will be so good as to cast your eye over it, and let me know whether Capt<sup>a</sup> Vickerman has made a proper charge, I will honour the Bill when it shall be presented.

As I have had many proofs of your friendly kindness, I think it may not be a matter of indifference to you to know how very generously and handsomely our Royal Master and His Prime Minister have acted towards an old servant. I retire from office with a provision for life, equivalent to my official appointment ; and with the Reversion of a place for life of about £600 a year to my eldest son. This,

<sup>1</sup> Burges to Banks, 3 October 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 9.

<sup>2</sup> MS. note, 6 October [1795], SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 13.

<sup>3</sup> Shairps and Co. to Whitworth, [1795], MS. account, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 10.

tho extremely agreeably [sic] to me, may perhaps be but little interesting to others, but I am sure it will not be uninteresting to you to know that the King we have both served has been kind to his servant, and that his kindness is felt properly and gratefully.

I have the honour to be with the most perfect regard and respect, . . .<sup>1</sup>

1795 October 28 Revesby Abbey

\*I rejoice with unfeigned sincerity to hear that your valuable labours for the public service have been rewarded in a manner satisfactory to yourself: it does credit to Ministers & honor to the Country when veteran servants of the public are provided for according to their deserts.

Respecting Mess<sup>rs</sup> Shairp's Bill I have only to observe upon it that the agreement I made with Capt. V[ickerman] was to give £80 for the freight of the plants & the outward bound passage of the Gardener, & that I advanced him £30 on that acct, so that £50 only is due instead of £60 as is charged. To countervail this extra charge of £10 is port charges of Plants &c. & I conclude freight for the Telescope, which was not in my department.

Respecting the remaining charges of £11-19, they are of a nature that neither you or I have it in our power to investigate; I confess, however, that they appear to me very reasonable.

I shall, floods &c. permitting, be in London on the 3<sup>d</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup>, & shall be happy to do any thing in this business that you order me to do, whenever I shall receive the pleasure of your commands. —<sup>2</sup>

1795 November 12 Elsenour

It is with pleasure I acquaint you Sir of my safe arrieval at Elsenour, after a very long and disagreeable passage of 29 days' on board Lady Bruse of Kennet, of my long stay at St Petersburg I suppose Sir Charles Withworth [sic] has already acquainted you. I have got about 25 plants and 180 different seeds from the Grand Duchess but I believe most of them are already in England, excepting the Rhododendron chrysanthemum, I was treated with a great deal of Kindness both from the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess. and they wanted very much to Keep me, but I did not like the restriction the Gardners are under. The ship I am in Sir is at present detained by contrary winds at Elsenour but I believe it is the Captains intention to sail with the first fair wind without wating for Convoy. I have got two letters with me for your Sir, one of Sir Charles Withworth, and the other of M<sup>r</sup> Hove from Pollond who is gone to settle on the frondiers of Grimia, and of whom you may expect a good many Seeds. . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burges to Banks, 24 October 1795, DTC. 9. 308-309.

<sup>2</sup> Banks to Burges, 28 October 1795, DTC. 9. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Noe to Banks, 12 November 1795, SL Banks MS. Ru 1:47. Cf Hove to Banks, 20 September 1795, Kew B.C. 2. 125.

[1795 December 29] [Soho Square]

\*There were not 3 of the Plants the King Sent before in the Grand Duchess's Gardens

The houses in Paulofski were very bad except one built last year of 350 feet Long with Ten pits in two Divisions The Plants were put into this G R was markd on Each Pot

The Plants were Carried in 15 Coaches with 4 horses Each they arrivd at 12 at night & as it Froze a little the Garden was lighted with Lamps that they might be unpackd The Protea argentea lost about 1½ inches by the Cold it being too tall to be Coverd Properly at 6 in the morn the G[rand] Dutchess was in the Hot house before Noe Could arrange them he begd a few hours to arrange the Plants as they had been left in Confusion the night before at 2 in the Even She Came with the Grand Duke & about 70 Attendants She had before orderd him into the drawing Room to Shew the Engravings & the Botany Bay flax The Grand duke made Noe give him a Scetch of Kew Garden & orderd him to Katchina a Garden formerly made by Sparrow an English man where he intended to make a botanic Garden he orderd Noe to mark the Sticks as done at Kew & he taught them how to do it

The Grand Duchess Came every day for an hour to Learn the names of the Plants

*Chironia linoides*

— *frutescens*

— New species

*Moraea northiana*

*Salvia violacea*

*Justicia nitida*

*Crinum ascetreum*[?]

*Erica ventricosa*

*Polygala pinnata*

*Rosa semperflorens*

Flowerd while Noe was Petersburg

flowerd while Noe was in Russia The Grand Duchess drew Every one with her own hand

Noe was obligd to go with Every Plant that flowerd after She left paulofski 38 miles to Katchina that She might see it

The Grand Duchess said she was so much indebted that she could not ask for more Plants till she had some Siberian ones to send in Return

The G[rand]Duchess] gave Noe a gold watch & 100 ducats

She Commissiond Plants views of Royal Gardens &c &c & gave him 300 Roubles to purchase [them]

...brought 12 Rose trees 8 feet high

2 *Viburnum lantana*

2 *Robinia pseudoacacia* 10 feet high

& chardg 500 ducats freight

The throng was so great when the Ship came to the Keys at Petersburg that Noe was obligd ask for assistance [there we]

The hay in which the Plants were packd fermentd & was changd at Sheerness & Elsinore Noe was however much troubled with damp till he Coverd every Pot with dry Sand from the ballast washd over to take out the Salt

in the voyage the Hatches were down about 6 *[days]* Nights The hold was so hot that the Plants grew a great deal

Came to Petersburg	Augt 11
Saild from thence	Sept 11
laid at Elsinore	4 weeks
arrivd in England	Dec <sup>r</sup> 27

I wrote the Purport of this information to M<sup>r</sup> Burgess on the 29<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> the day I receivd it<sup>1</sup>

[1795 n.d.]<sup>2</sup>

<i>Aquilegia alpina</i>	<i>Beta cycla taurica</i>
----- <i>sanguinea</i>	<i>Berberis mongola</i>
----- <i>viridiflora</i>	<i>Siberica siberica</i>
<i>Artemisia</i> sp -----	----- <i>nova</i>
----- sp -----	<i>Cineraria siberica</i>
----- <i>adozatissima</i>	----- <i>glauca</i>
----- sp -----	----- sp -----
<i>Amygdalus pedunculata</i>	<i>Colutea</i> sp -----
----- sp -----	<i>Campanula latifolia</i>
<i>Arabis pendula</i>	----- <i>lilifolia</i>
---- <i>grandiflora</i>	----- <i>punctata</i>
<i>Alyssum taurica</i>	<i>Cucubalus sibericus</i>
----- <i>singulare</i>	----- <i>occultus</i>
----- <i>halmifolium</i>	----- sp -----
----- <i>montanum</i>	<i>Centaurea gemelius</i>
----- sp -----	<i>Cotyledon sinensa</i>
<i>Androsace lactiflora</i>	----- <i>spinosa</i>
----- <i>macrantha</i>	<i>Convolvulus tauricus</i>
<i>Astragalus melitotoides</i>	<i>Cachrys alpina</i>
----- sp -----	<i>Cheiranthus fenestralis</i>
----- sp -----	<i>Cleome nivalis</i>
<i>Anthemis melifoliata</i>	<i>Clypeola minima</i>
<i>Anemone narcissiflora</i>	<i>Cnicus acaulis</i>
<i>Aster alpinus</i>	--- <i>salinus</i>
<i>Avena</i> sp -----	<i>Cymbaria dahurica</i>
<i>Actaea laccis rubis</i>	<i>Coniandra testiculatum</i>
<i>Aconitum dahuricum</i>	<i>Cacalis daucoides</i>
----- <i>camarum</i>	<i>Cruciata singularis</i>
<i>Amaryllis tatarica</i>	<i>Dracocephalum pinnatum</i>
<i>Antirrhinum junceum</i>	----- <i>glutinosum</i>
<i>Anabasis aphylla</i>	----- <i>altaiensis</i>
<i>Asphodelus luteus</i>	----- <i>grandiflorum</i>
<i>Aleca ficifolia</i>	<i>Doronicum altaicum</i>
<i>Biscutella alsinus</i>	<i>Dianthus prolifer</i>
<i>Betula nigra</i>	<i>Didelphia varia speciosa</i>
--- <i>fruticans</i>	<i>Ephedra species</i>
<i>Bunias cakile</i>	<i>Fritillaria</i> sp -----
<i>Ballota lanata</i>	<i>Ferula mongolica</i>
<i>Brunus mahaleb</i> [ <i>Prunus</i> ]	<i>Gramen singularis</i>

<sup>1</sup> MS. notes by Sir Joseph Banks, [29 December 1795], SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 50.

<sup>2</sup> MS. catalogue of the plants received, mostly as seeds, from Her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess of all the Russias in return for the plants from Kew, [1795 n.d.] SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 49.

- Gentiana cruciata*  
 ----- *indeterminata*  
*Glycyrriza mongolica*  
*Gypsophila altissima*  
 ----- *siberica*  
 ----- sp -----  
*Hesperis sibirica*  
 ----- *tartarica*  
*Hippophae albus*  
 ----- *physaloides*  
 ----- sp -----  
*Hedysarum criticum*  
 ----- *argenteum*  
 ----- *alpinum*  
 ----- *obscurum*  
*Juniperus oxycoides ploeincea*  
*Lonicera alpina*  
 ----- sp -----  
*Liliacae varia alpina*  
*Lycopus pinnatus*  
*Leontice* sp -----  
*Leonurus alpinus*  
*Lathyrus nesfolia*  
*Linum caeruleum*  
 ----- *perenne*  
*Mespilus* sp -----  
*Melissa officinalis*  
*Mentha pataniana*  
*Nepeta neraxica*  
 ----- *lavendulacea*  
 ----- *conica*  
*Ornithogalum narbonense*  
*Onosma tauricum*  
*Koelipinia* sp -----  
*Paeonia officinalis*  
 ----- *sinensis alba*  
 ----- *laciniata*  
 ----- *multifida*  
 ----- *tenuifolia*  
*Phaca arenaria procumbens*  
 ----- *elata*  
 ----- *rarissima*  
 ----- *siberica* sp nova  
*Papaver hybridum*  
 ----- *sinensis*  
 ----- sp -----  
*Potentilla nivea*  
 ----- sp -----  
 ----- sp -----  
 ----- sp -----  
*Pedicularis rubens mongolum*  
 ----- *caespitosa*  
 ----- *incarnata*  
 ----- sp -----
- Phalaris erucaeformis*  
*Polygonia* sp -----  
*Pallasia pterococcus*  
*Primula civitusoides*  
*Polygala speciosa*  
*Prunus taurica*  
*Pyrus baccata*  
*Rhododendron chrysanthum*  
 ----- *dauricum*  
*Robinia pygmaea*  
 ----- *frutescens*  
 ----- sp -----  
 ----- sp -----  
 ----- sp -----  
*Rosa pimpinellifolia*  
 ----- *taurica*  
 ----- *alba mongolica*  
 ----- *pumila*  
*Rheum dentatum*  
 ----- *mongolum*  
 ----- *latifolium*  
*Ribes mongolum*  
 ----- *diacantha*  
 ----- *taranuska*  
 ----- *trista*  
 ----- sp -----  
*Rubus arcticus*  
*Rhus cotinus*  
*Ruta* sp -----  
*Rhodiola rosea*  
*Rumex* sp -----  
*Stalice paradoxa*  
 ----- *flexuosa*  
 ----- *speciosa*  
 ----- *trigona*  
*Salsola laniflora*  
 ----- *locla* ?  
*Swertia rotata*  
 ----- *corniculata*  
*Sophora lupinoides*  
*Sibbaldia cruta*  
 ----- sp - prostrata  
*Sisymbrium* sp -----  
*Silene amoena*  
*Serratula salicifolia*  
*Salicornia herbacea*  
*Saxifraga* sp -----  
*Tanacetum sibiricum*  
*Trifolium subterraneum*  
*Trigonella* sp -----  
*Thymus odoratissimus*  
*Tulipa altaica*  
*Trollius asiaticus*  
*Viola uniflora*

*Urtica cannabina*  
*Ulmus pumila*

and about 30 without names but  
 the part of the country they  
 come from

1795 December 29 Soho Square

\*Noe the Gardener who went to Russia is Just now arrivd after a passage of 11 weeks by his account it appears that the success of his management was very good, he Lost very few Plants indeed & when he Carried his Cargo to Paulesski he found that only 3 of all those he brought had before been seen in Russia

the grand Duchess Receivd them with all possible honor, 15 Coaches were sent to Carry them from the water to the Palace & as they arrivd there in the night the Garden was Lighted up with Lamps for the *ir/* facility of unpacking them.

The Grand Duchess was in the Garden by Six the next morn & gave directions respecting them, before noon Noe was sent for into the Palace & had the honor to exhibit the Plans of the hothouses at Kew & the Drawings of Plants he had been chargd with to the Grand Duke and Duchess, at 2 they Came to the Garden with 70 attendants

The G. Duchess orderd the King of Englands Mark, G. R., to be inscribd by Noe on Every Pot he had brought that they might not be confounded with her own & She Every day Spent an hour in Learning the names of the Plants

When her imperial highness removd from Paulefsky to a Palace About 30 miles from it, she orderd Noe to attend with Every Plant that Should Flower & she with her own hand made a drawing of Each.

The most Hansome overtures were made to Noe if he would Consent to Enter into her Service, but he declined on account of his having had a recal[l] sent to him from Wurtemburgh, Where he says he is sure he never shall receive so much pay as was offerd him by the grand duchess.

he Receivd when he went away a handsome gold watch & 100 ducats as a Present

Whenever you Come to Town my dear Sir if you will let me Know I will meet you at the office that we may finish this affair beleive me my dear Sir with infinite Regard & esteem very Faithfully Yours. . . [P.S.] he has brought a large Collection of Seeds & some curious Plants for Kew many more I am Sure will follow<sup>1</sup>

1796 January 19 [Soho Square]

\*I wrote to you on the 29<sup>th</sup> dec<sup>r</sup> to acquaint you that [George] Noe had Returnd from St Petersburg after a Passage of 11 weeks that his Present had been Rec<sup>d</sup> in a manner truely super royal & that he had got a gold watch & 100 ducats as a present So that our business has succeeded beyond the warmest Stretch of our fears & equald indeed our most Sanguine wishes I fear however that my Letter never came to your hands as I have not Rec<sup>d</sup> an answer, as I had hopes of seeing you yesterday at St Jame's I waited till today before I should aim another Shot at you

I have now made out Noes bill & find that an account of Salary no part of which appears to have been paid to him in Russia of expences incurrd in the River at

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 29 December 1795, Kew B.C. 2. 130.



Elsineur & in Russia on account of the Plants & his Passage home we Stand indebted to him in the balance of £56 : 17 : 5

as no part of the money I advanced on this account during your Reign has to the best of my Recollection been Repaid to me I am unwilling to advance any more till some person has acquainted M<sup>r</sup> Hammond with the Particulars of the business, I told my whole story to L<sup>d</sup> Grenville the other day, he heard me Patiently but did not deign to give me even a Sentiment of approbation much less of Thanks Give me then my dear Sir your advice for if I am to do all to write all to direct all & to pay all & no human being feel inclin'd to thank me I Shall I fear in due time feel as sulky as a measly Sow who has lost her scrubbing Post. . .<sup>1</sup>

1796 January 20 Eltham

I will not make any apology to you for having delayed to answer you last Letter, because I feel that I have been in the wrong, and I hate to defend a bad cause. However I must say, that accident has in a great degree been the occasion of this omission ; for I hoped to have been able to call upon you, and to put the business into a proper course of final arrangement ; but I was so unlucky as to fall down, and to bruise my knee and strain my leg ; the consequence of which has been a fit of the Gout, which took this opportunity of paying me his first visit, and of laying me up with my foot on a stool for some time past. I hope however to be in town very soon when I will not fail to do every thing in my power to conclude the affair to your satisfaction. In my opinion, you have not been treated in the manner you ought ; for the money you advanced when the Plants were sent ought to have been paid long ago, and there can be no excuse for withholding it. As to Lord Grenville and his manner of receiving the account you gave him, I confess I feel no surprize for a very long acquaintance with that great man has familiarized me with his manners, tho' they are such as must appear singular to those who have had less experience of them. In the present case however you need not lay yourself under any further necessity of submitting to them ; for I will state the matter fully to M<sup>r</sup> Hammond. It will however be right that M<sup>r</sup> Noe should make out an account of what is due to him ; and if he will send it to me, I will lose no time in putting it into a proper train, and will try to save you and him from any more trouble. I can only add, that, if there should be any thing in which you can employ me on this or any other occasion, I shall feel the truest pleasure in convincing you of the sincere respect and esteem with which I have the Honour to be. . .

[\*Sent Noes account for approbation Jan 21.]<sup>2</sup>

1796 January 22 Eltham

I do not perceive any article in M<sup>r</sup> Noe's account to which an objection can be made, as I take it for granted that his Pay and Extra : Allowance in Russia were what had been agreed upon when he undertook the expedition. I therefore send you back the Paper, in order that it may receive such a Title as will explain its

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 19 January 1796, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 11.

<sup>2</sup> Burges to Banks, 20 January 1796, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 12.

purport, and enable those who were not acquainted with the transaction to understand it. When you shall be so good as to let me have it again, I will immediately set it agoing, and will do all I can to procure M<sup>r</sup> Noe his money.

I am now able to walk about, and hope to be firm enough on my legs to pay my duty to the King next Wednesday.

I have the Honour to be with great respect and regard...<sup>1</sup>

[1796 n.d.]

Extraordinary expences which I was necessarily  
under going and coming from S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg  
On my passage to Petersburg.<sup>2</sup>

	£	Sch <sup>g</sup> p
for a Trowel . . . . .	.	1 . 6
2 watering Pots . . . . .	.	8 . .
for a Truss of Hay at London . . . . .	.	4 . .
for a pump the old broken . . . . . Gravesend . . . . .	.	3 . 2
for 2 Trusses of Hay including ferriage . . . . . Sheerness . . . . .	.	13 . .
Elseneur Hay and ferriage . . . . .	.	10 . 6
for Letters from Elseneur & S <sup>t</sup> Petersburg . . . . .	.	6 . .
for a Sound pass . . . . .	.	2 . .
	2 £	8 Sch <sup>g</sup> 2 p

In Russia

At Cronstadt to the Translator . . . . .		3 Rubles
Custom house duty for my wearing apparel . . . . .		4½ . .
for 2 Extraordinary Custumhouse officer . . . . .		2 . .
for bringing the plants from the Venus to the Imperial Gardens at S <sup>t</sup> Petersburg . . . . . Barge		7 . .
for carriage to & from the Imperial Gardens to Sir Charles Withworth . . . . .		4 . .
Coach hire to Paulowsky and Gatachena . . . . .		25 . .
for advertising in the paper to leave Russia . . . . .		1 . .
Passport interpreter and other fees . . . . .		10 . .
for coach to Crownstadt . . . . .		8 . .
Custum house fees at Crownstadt . . . . .		3 . .
In my 4 weeks stay at Elseneur . . . . .		7 . .
8 Rubles 1. £ Sterling . . . . .	9 £	3. Sch <sup>g</sup>
Passage to England . . . . .	10 £	10 . .
Custum house duty at London . . . . .	1	1 .
£ Sh		
Ten weeks in Russia at 2 . 2 . . . . . per week . . . . .	} 21 &	
	44 £	12 Sch <sup>g</sup>
Received before I left London . . . . .	.6 .	6 . .
	38 £	6 Sch <sup>g</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burges to Banks, 22 January 1796, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 20.

<sup>2</sup> Noe to Banks, [1796 n.d.], MS. account of expences, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 19.

[1796 n.d.] [Soho Square]<sup>1</sup>

\*George Noe a Wurtemberger originally recommended to Kew Gardens by the duke of Wurtemberg & intended for his own Garden but left destitute at Kew by the dukes death is the Person Recommended by Mr Aiton for the Care of the Plants he is Foreman of the Botanic Garden at Kew  
 approv'd by His Majesty June 2<sup>nd</sup> his Pay is therefore to Commence from May 31 the first day in the week when he was approv'd

to have Gratuity to Find him Cloths &c . . . . . £30  
 a guinea a week during his Stay in  
 England & his Passages at Sea  
 2 guineas a week during his Stay at St Petersburg  
 to Charge Coach hire & boat hire while employ'd  
 on his Service

Account

1795					
June	20	1	Paid to George Noe Gratuity to Furnish him with Cloths & necessaries . . . . .	£30	0 .. 0
		25	2	Paid to Capt Vickerman in advance on account of his Passenger & in part of freight . . . . .	30 .. 0 .. 0
July	4	3	Paid to Geo Noe 5 weeks wages due this day advanced d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> on account of wages to be due d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> for Gratuities to Sailors who assist him to be accounted for in his Continent bill	5	5 .. 0
				6	6 .. 0
				2	2 .. 0
		6	Paid to Mr Brown Clerk of the works at Kew being a gratuity for his Trouble in making drawings of Two hothouses by his majesties orders	10	10 .. 0
		9	Paid E. Binbrook Carpenter for making the Platform & form furnishing water cask & Pump	21	0 .. 0
1796					
Feb	4		Paid balance due to George Noe of wages & expences when I settled finally with him . . . . .	56	17 .. 6
					162 .. 0 .. 6

Feb. 6. 1799 Rec<sup>d</sup> from L<sup>d</sup> Grenville & 102 in full  
 I suppose of this Expenditure I conclude  
 I have Rec<sup>d</sup> £50 before but Realy do not Remember

[1796] January 23 [Soho Square]

\*I return with this the Account with a Title placed at the head of it The extra pay was in the original estimate approv'd by you it was not thought unreasonable that he Should have for Salary & board wages a guinea a week & Two during his stay at Petersburg The weekly pay was agreed to continue during his Passage as a kind of douceur not likely to Cost Government more than 8 or 9 guineas as a

<sup>1</sup> MS. notes and account by Sir Joseph Banks, n.d. probably February 1796, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 18.

months passage is about the average it has increasd somewhat on account of the Length of his homeward bound passage which took up 11 weeks but I Still think it would not have been Easy & for a person unacquainted with the business to have procurd a man Capable of taking care of Plants of Speaking Two Languages of being Civil & Prudent to go & Return from Russia & have the honor of Receiving Commands from the grand Duchess there for Less money than £45 : 10 & be perfectly Contented & satisfied on his Return to Resume his Station in Life without any claim for further favor<sup>1</sup>

1796 February 4 London

\*Receivd of Sir Jos: Banks the Sum  
of Fifty Six Pounds 17/6 being in Full of the  
Balance of wages due to me & all charges paid by me  
during the Time I was Employd in Carrying Plants from  
Kew to Russia & my stay & [sic] there & my Return home<sup>2</sup>  
[sgd] George Noe

1796 January 23

[\*Sent to Sr J B Burgess Jan 23 1796]

Final Account of Geo: Noe for salary & expences of attending a Collection of Plants sent from the Royal Gardens at Kew & delivering them to the Gardiners of the Grand Duchess of Russia<sup>3</sup>

On my passage to St Petersburg

1 Trowel . . . . .	1 . 6
2 watering pots . . . . .	8 .
1 truss of hay at London . . . . .	4 .
1 pump, the old one broken . . . Gravesend . . . . .	3 . 2
2 truss of hay including ferriage . . Sheerness . . . . .	13 .
Hay and ferriage . . . . . Elseneur . . . . .	10 . 6
Postage of letters from Elseneur rec <sup>d</sup> at Petersburg . . . . .	6 .
a Sound pass . . . . .	2 .
	<hr/>

2. 8. 2

<sup>1</sup> Banks to Burges, 23 January [1796], SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 20.

<sup>2</sup> Noe to Banks, 4 February 1796, MS. receipt signed, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 26.

<sup>3</sup> Noe to Banks, 23 January 1796, MS. account of expenses, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 27.

In Russia			
Translator at Cronstadt . . . . .		3	
Custom-house duty for my wearing apparel . . . . .		4½	
2 Extraordinary custom-house officers . . . . .		2	
Bringing the plants from the Venus to the Imperial Gardens at S <sup>t</sup> Petersburg . . . Barge . . .	}	7	
Carriages from the Imperial Gardens to Sir Cha <sup>s</sup> Withworth's . . . . .		4	
Coach-hire to Paullowsky and Gatoechna . . . . .		25	
Advertising in the Paper to leave Russia . . . . .		1	
Passport Interpreter and other fees . . . . .		10	
Coach to Cronstadt . . . . .		8	
Custom-house fees at Cronstadt . . . . .		3	
In my 4 weeks stay at Elseneur . . . . .		7	
8 Rubles being 1. £ sterling . . . . .		74½	are 9. 6. 3
Passage to England . . . . .		10.	10. -
Custom-house duty at London . . . . .		1.	1. .
Ten weeks extra allowance in Russia 1. 1. p week . . . . .		10.	10. .
			<u>31. 7. 3</u>
Pay from May 31. 1795 to Jan. 15. 1796 being 33 weeks at one Guinea a week . . . . .			<u>34. 13. .</u> 68. 8. 5
Received 5 weeks pay due July 4 . . . . .		5.	5. .
in advance before I left London . . . . .		6.	6. .
			<u>11. 11. .</u>
	Balance due . . . . .		<u>£56. 17. 5</u>
<i>Received also for Gratuities to Sailors who should assist . . . . .</i>			<u>2. 2. /</u>

1799 February 6 Downing Street

Mr Bidwell<sup>1</sup> presents his Compliments to Sir Joseph Banks and takes the Liberty of enclosing a Dr[aft] for £102 being the amount of Money which he expended on his Majesty's Service which Sum Mr Bidwell is directed by Mr Hammond<sup>2</sup> to pay Sir Joseph.

[\*My Acc<sup>t</sup> Stands Creditor to Government £.162 I have no Copy I suppose I have Rec<sup>d</sup> £50 but forget when I had no Clerk & Kept no Copy of acc<sup>t</sup> put in Expecting it to be paid the next day it was sent in in Feb<sup>y</sup> 1796.]

<sup>1</sup> Bidwell to Banks, 6 February 1799, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 29. Thomas Bidwell sr. (d. 1817), chief clerk of the Foreign Office.

<sup>2</sup> George Hammond (1763-1853), Under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1795-1806, 1807-1809; first accredited British Minister to the United States, 1791; close friend of Lord Grenville, Foreign Minister, who had James Bland Burges make way for Hammond on his return from Philadelphia.

[1796 February -] [Soho Square]

		<u>Account.</u> <sup>1</sup>		
		£	s	d
1795				
June	20 <sup>th</sup>	1		
		Paid to Geo: Noe a Gratuity to provide him with Cloths, necessaries &c <sup>a</sup> . . . . .		
		30	..	..
	25	2		
		Paid Capt Vickerman in advance on Acc <sup>t</sup> of <i>his Passenger &amp;c</i> / Freight of Plants. . . . .		
		30	..	..
July	4	3		
		Paid Geo: Noe on Account of his Wages commencing May 30 in advance . . . . .		
		11	..	11 ..
		4		
		Paid D <sup>o</sup> as a Gratuity to be divided among such Sailors as assist him for which he is to account in his contingent Bill . . . . .		
		2	..	2 ..
	6	5		
		Paid M <sup>r</sup> Brown Clerk of the Works at Kew a Gratuity for his Trouble in making drawings of two hothouses which were sent with the Plants . . . . .		
		10	..	10 ..
	9	6		
		Paid E Benbrook Carpenter for making the platform & finding a water cock & a Pump . . . . .		
		21	..	..
		<u>£105 .. 3 ..</u>		

To be paid.

To complete the Freight it being agreed for at £80 . . . . .		50	..	..
Primage average &c . . . . . suppose . . . . .		5	..	..
Contingent Bill . . . . .		5	..	..
Noe's return Passage . . . . .		10	..	10 ..
Wages if he is kept 6 weeks at S <sup>t</sup> Petersburg . . . . .		21	..	..
Gratuity if his Business is well done, and the Office is pleased with Noe . . . . .		10	..	10 ..
		<u>£102 .. 0 .. 0</u>		

[1799 n.d.] [Soho Square]<sup>2</sup>

Account of Moneys expended & paid by Sir Joseph Banks in the execution of his Majesties commands by sending a present of Exotic Plants from the Royal Gardens at Kew to her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess of all the Russias under the care of George Noe Foreman of the Royal Botanic Garden

<sup>1</sup> MS. interim account rendered by Sir Joseph Banks to the Foreign Office perhaps in February 1796 and evidently enclosed in Bidwell to Banks, 6 February 1799, as authority for the payment of the sum of £102. SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 28.

<sup>2</sup> MS. statement of account, n.d. but most probably February 1799, SL Banks MS. Ru 1 : 30. Cf. Bidwell to Banks, 6 February 1799, above and Banks's annotation thereto.

			£	s	d
1795	June 20 <sup>th</sup>	Paid to Geo Noe Foreman of the Royal Gardens as a Gratuity to provide him with Cloths Necessaries &c as pr Rec <sup>t</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 1 . . . . .	30.	0.	0
	25 <sup>th</sup>	Paid Cap <sup>t</sup> Vickerman of the Ship Venus in advance on account of Mr Noe's passage & Freight of Plants as pr Rec <sup>t</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 2 . . . . .	30.	0.	0
	July 4 <sup>th</sup>	Paid Geo Noe on account of his Wages commencing May 30 Eleven weeks part in advance as pr Receipt N <sup>o</sup> 3 . . . . .	11.	11.	0
		Paid D <sup>o</sup> as a Gratuity to be divided among such Sailors as assist him for which he is to account in his contingent Bill as pr Rec <sup>t</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 3 . . . . .	2.	2.	0
	6 <sup>th</sup>	Paid Mr Brown Clerk of the Works at Kew a Gratuity for his trouble in making Drawings of two Hot houses which were sent with the Plants in obedience to his Majesties commands . . . . .	10.	10.	0
	9 <sup>th</sup>	Paid E. Benbrook Carpenter for making the Platform & finding a Watercock & a Pump as pr Receipt N <sup>o</sup> 5 . . . . .	21.	0.	0
1796	Feb. 4	Paid to Geo Noe balance due to him of Wages & Expences when I finally settled with him as pr Bill & Rec <sup>t</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 6 . . . . .	56.	17.	6
			<hr/>		
			162.	0.	6
			<hr/>		
			102.	0.	0
			<hr/>		
			£ 60.	0.	6

[\* I receivd the whole of Received Feb<sup>y</sup> 7 1799 . . . . .  
the money Feb 11 1799 being Remains due . . . . .  
exactly 3 years after I had paid it  
& nobody has Thankd me J B]

## NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

## Frontispiece

The two sepia drawings of the frontispiece were brought to light at the Linnean Society of London in July 1972. They were found by Mr Gavin Bridson, the Society's Librarian, after specific enquiries made in correspondence by the present author. They were mounted together within the same frame, identified by an old hand-written label at the back which read: 'Museum and Library of Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. 17 Dean Street, Soho: the residence from 1820 to 1858, of his Librarian, Robert Brown'. Beneath this label read: 'Lucas, del. ? (Mrs Btt)', the *tt* in the parentheses being doubtful. So far the artist has not been identified. However there is no doubt that the drawings are authentic views of the state of these rooms more or less as they were known to Sir Joseph Banks at the time of his death. There are enough identifiable items of detail in each room to make this certain even though the drawings were probably made at some time after March 1828, perhaps about the time of the death of Lady Banks in that year. From this point the house in Soho Square was finally divided between Robert Brown and the Linnean Society of London and the 'back premises' occupied by Brown became known as 17 Dean Street thereafter.

In the context of the present bulletin these two drawings effectively give us for the first time a contemporary glimpse of the interior of the power-house epitomised by the address: 32 Soho Square. In 1795 the Library was the scene of the last stages in the preparation of the first volumes of the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Historico-Naturalis Josephi Banks...* by Jonas Dryander. It is however in the study that we must look for the background not only to the majority of the papers written by Banks in the present transaction of the plant collection sent from Kew to St Petersburg, but also for the scene where Banks worked and from which his influence radiated more than any other single place from the autumn of 1777 almost to his death in June 1820. Here is what he himself once described as 'the unarranged regularity of my little den'. This is the room at the foot of the main stairs on the ground floor opening off the left-hand rear corner of the large entrance hall, approaching from Soho Square. It was originally described as 'the Breakfasting Parlour' when Banks bought the 'Elegant and Spacious Leasehold House' known as 32 Soho Square on 29 March 1777. In size it was 20 feet by 13 feet. In this compact room with its south light from the large studio window Banks not only worked but also probably received from day to day most of that unending stream of visitors who sought his advice, co-operation, or merely his company.

His chair to the left of the fire-place is apparently that in which he was painted by Thomas Phillips in 1820, the year of his death, posed against the background of the doorway and bookshelves at the right. The big desk under the studio window is now the desk of the Keeper of Botany in the British Museum (Natural History). It was doubtless also used extensively by the first Keeper of Botany, Robert Brown, for the greater part of his working life, after the death of Banks.

The Library was one of the 'two large Apartments' on the first floor which formed part of the 'extensive back Building' and was already defined as such when Banks



bought the house in 1777. The herbarium cabinets along the wall on the right are now incorporated in those of the Botany Department of the British Museum (Natural History) at South Kensington. The blank space on the far wall at the end of the Library over the fire-place is where the portrait of Captain Cook hung after it had been commissioned by Banks in 1776 from Nathaniel Dance, R.A., and until Robert Brown in March 1828 delivered it to Banks's executor, Sir Edward Knatchbull 9th Bart. It was then presented to Greenwich Hospital in 1829 by Sir Edward where it hung in the Painted Hall until 1937 when it was removed to the National Maritime Museum. The 'Apartment' beyond this wall was presumably the main Herbarium where the bulk of the plant collections were kept and where the portrait of Linnaeus, now in the Linnean Society of London, was hung. This was the copy by Laurenz Pasch of the original painted by A. Roslin in 1775 given to Banks by Archbishop von Troil. Banks bequeathed this copy to Robert Brown who presented it to the Linnean Society of London. The dimensions of these two rooms are as yet uncertain but each would have been not less than 20 feet wide and in length together no more than about 50 feet.

Taken together the Banksian study and the Library shown in the frontispiece, with the Herbarium of which we have no visible record as yet, may with good reason be accepted as the effective nucleus of the present British Museum (Natural History). We may also with some confidence accept them as the working environment in which Robert Brown first firmly directed attention to that other nucleus – the 'kernel' in the plant cell – from which so much of the pattern of modern biology has evolved.

The original drawings have now been presented by the Linnean Society of London to the British Museum (Natural History) where they are lodged in the General Library.

## Plate I

This plan shows the general state of the Royal Gardens at Kew about the time of the episode described in this bulletin. The centre of activity in preparing the collection of plants for the Empress was almost certainly the Great Stove and the Exotic Ground in front of it, a little below left centre in the plate. This was an area of slightly more than an acre and a half lying about 400–500 feet south of the present Orangery, then known as the Greenhouse. The Great Stove was demolished in 1864 and its former site is roughly marked by the large Wisteria on its iron cage and the Gingko or Maidenhair Tree which was probably near its western end. The Exotic Ground was therefore where the present lawn is between the Wisteria, the Broad Walk, and the path leading from the Turkey Oak back past the Ferneries.

The general orientation is clear from the position of St. Anne's Church on Kew Green at the extreme left just beyond the north-west end of Kew Lane (now Kew Road). Sandycombe Road may be seen passing through the fields toward the top right-hand corner and the junction with the present Lower Richmond and Lower Mortlake Roads continuing beyond as Manor Road, beside which lay the King's Marsh Gate Farm just outside the scope of the map. In the bottom left-hand corner

the position of the building now known as Kew Palace is at the end of a short avenue of trees leading from a small wharf on the River Thames.

The original of this plan is in the Map Room of the British Museum by whose permission it is published here. The press mark is K Top XL 4601.

#### Plate II *a* and *b*

The plan of the Park of Pavlovsk is shown in Plate II *a* as it appears to have been about the period of the events described in this paper. In extent it was apparently at least four times the area of the Royal Gardens at Kew at the same date and in design is clearly much the more elaborate. The Palace itself lies in the south-west corner and nearby was the Private Garden into which many of the plants from Kew were introduced. This garden may have been of about the same area as the Exotic Ground at Kew from which so many plants in the Royal gift had come.

The general style of these extensive and elaborate grounds may be assessed from the engraving in Plate II *b* which illustrates a view of the Slavyanka valley below the Palace and which traversed the Park from the south-west. This was engraved by S. Galaktionov from the original painting by S. Shchedrin.

Both illustrations are taken from *The Park of Pavlovsk* by O. Ivanova (1956), Leningrad. A copy of this volume was generously presented to the General Library of the British Museum (Natural History) from the Library of the Pavlovsk Museum and Park through the kindness of M. A. Flitt, Chief Custodian of the Park of Pavlovsk. Plate II *a* is Plate 2 and Plate II *b* is Plate 9 in the original volume.

#### Plate III *a*

*Strelitzia reginae* Ait. or Bird of Paradise Flower, native to the coastal areas of Cape Province, was among the first species sent to Great Britain by Francis Masson on his first visit to South Africa in the years 1772-1774. According to William Curtis the first plant was received in the Royal Garden at Kew in 1773 and Banks himself was responsible for the naming of the genus, long before the publication of *Hortus Kewensis*, in honour of the Queen, Charlotte Sophia (1744-1818), a daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz in North Germany. The plant is widely cultivated and in recent years has become popular in floristry.

The plate is from the original water-colour drawing by James Sowerby, 1787, in the Banksian MS. No. 17, in the Botany Department, British Museum (Natural History).

#### Plate III *b*

*Phaius tancarvilleae* (L'Hérit.) Blume or Lady Tankerville's orchid, was introduced into Great Britain from China by John Fothergill about 1778. It is apparently named after Emma, Lady Tankerville (d. 1836), wife of Charles, 4th Earl Tankerville (1743-1822), of Chillingham Castle, Belford, Northumberland. It was first named *Limodorum tankervilleae*.

The plate is from the original water-colour drawing by James Sowerby (1757-1822) for William Aiton's *Hortus Kewensis*, vol. 3, t. 12 (1789) and is now in Banksian MS. No. 17, in the Botany Department, British Museum (Natural History).

#### Plate IV a

*Phormium tenax* Forst., or New Zealand Flax, endemic in New Zealand and Norfolk Island, was first seen by Banks in 1769 during Captain Cook's first circumnavigation in H.M.S. *Endeavour* when its potential value as a source of strong vegetable fibres for industry greatly attracted him. Although twenty years later in 1789 he introduced it to Great Britain it now survives there only as a garden species. In the Azores, St. Helena, Argentina, Chile and South Africa it has become a useful crop plant.

The plate is from the original water-colour drawing by Sydney Parkinson (c. 1745-1771) in H.M.S. *Endeavour* during the circumnavigation of New Zealand in 1769-70. It is now preserved with the Banksian MSS. in the Botany Department, British Museum (Natural History).

#### Plate IV b

*Brucea antidysenterica* J. F. Mill. (syn. *B. ferruginea*) was discovered by James Bruce (1730-1794) during his Abyssinian journey and named after him. It was reputed to have considerable value as a tonic and as a cure for dysentery. It is strongly astringent.

The plate is from the original water-colour drawing made for Banks by John Frederick Miller (fl. 1759-1794) who later engraved it as Plate 25 in his *Cimelia physica*, 1796. This drawing is also preserved in the Banksian MSS. in the Botany Department, British Museum (Natural History).

#### Line drawing p. 327

The line drawing of the profile of Sir Joseph Banks at the beginning of the section THE DOCUMENTS was derived by the author from the drawing by Henry Edridge in the National Art Gallery, Sydney, N.S.W. This is Banks apparently at the age of 51 in the year 1794 and therefore as he was about the time of the present episode as far as this can be deduced. The original drawing by Edridge is undated.

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HAROLD B. CARTER  
 YEO BANK  
 CONGRESBURY  
 BRISTOL

PLATE I

Plan of the Royal Gardens at Kew c. 1785

Scale : 1 cm = c. 100 m.



PLATE II

- a* Plan of the Royal Park at Pavlovsk c. 1795  
Scale 1 cm = c. 250 m.
- b* Landscape of the Slayyanka valley at Pavlovsk c. 1795



a



b

PLATE III

- a. Strelitzia reginae* Ait  
See p. 34b
- b. Phaius tancarvilleae* (L'Hérit.) Blume  
See p. 34b



b



c



PLATE IV

- a* *Phormium tenax* Forst  
See p. 346
- b* *Brucea antidysenterica* J. F. Mill  
(syn *B. ferruginea*) See p. 347

